T16
T96 goods]." Thus it was made known to the people that they
567 would be offered up as sacrifices.

At this time they gave gifts and had a feast.

And their victims they set up in a good place, all in costly mantles which had been placed upon them. [And] they made them dance upon the roof-tops or in the market place. [And] they went singing, ending their song mocking death.

● [565] And if any were noted who were very subtle, among those to be offered up as sacrifices; one skilled in songs, one who was ingenious, who was intelligent and able, the noblemen set him aside and put another in his place.

Likewise, if a woman could sew, or if she prepared food well, or made good cacao—from whose hand good food [595] and drink came; [or if she was] a good interpreter; her also they set aside. The nobles took [such women] as wives.

T76 [Yiacatecutli's] array [was thus] put on: his face was covered with white pyrites. He had a tuft of hair on the front of his head like a pillar of stone and a headband with bunches of quetzal feathers. He wore golden ear-plugs. A blue knotted cloth was his cape.[110] He had a costly breech-cloth. He had little bells and shells. He wore princely sandals. His shield bore a coil pattern like a gourd vessel,[111] in quetzal feathers. His traveling staff was in his hand; he had a cane staff.

iquac tetlauhtia, tetlaqualtia.

Auh yn jtlaaltilhoan, iccan, quinquetza: mùch tlaçotilmatli, yn jntech quintlalilia: ipã mjtotiaia in tlapanco, anoço tianquizco: cujcatinemj, tlatlahdamj yn jncuje, ynjc momiquinequelloa.

Auh intla aca oittoc, in cenca mjmati tlaaltilli, yn cujcamatinj, in iolizmatquj, yn jxe, yn iollo: quiquixtiaia in pipilti, ipan tlacaquetzaia:

no iuhquj, intla cioatl, intla tlamachiuhquj, anoço vellaqualchioa, vel achioa, in qualli yiauh, in qualli intlaqual ymac quiça; vellatolmelaoac: no quintlcia, quinmotlacacoanaia in pipilti.

Jn jnechichioal motlatlatlali, mixapetzvi, ytemjlo, ixquatzo, inquatzone, quetzallalpile, tencujtlanacoche, xiuhtlalpilli yn jtilma, tlaçomaxtle, tzitzile, eiooale, teccaque, quetzalxicalcoliuhquj yn jchimol, ytlacçaia ymac onoc, oolaxepile.

Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Lord of the Four Directions (Napa tecutli).

T76 It is said that he also belonged among the Tlaloca. He
467 was the special [god of] the mat-makers' guild, who worshipped him as a god.[112]

And he was also [god] of those who fashioned mats of large, fat reeds, and of those who made frames of reeds.[113]

[173] They spoke in this wise: "For it was he who first taught and showed them how to weave mats and make seats."

He it was who owned, ruled, discovered, began, and initiated [mat-making].

And they spoke thus: "For he it is who causeth the reeds to sprout and grow—the fine thin ones, the coarse ones, the long, fat reeds and the round, white ones, those with spikes, the black ones, the sharp ones, the thin ones."[114]

T76 And when it was his feast day, they spoke thus: "He
T96 washeth and batheth men; he shaketh and sprinkleth rain
467 upon them." [For] greatly they importuned [rain] of him.

And also each year they slew a man who represented him,
[567] a slave.

Jnic cempoalli capitaõo, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl yn jtoca catca Napa tecutli.

Juh mjtoa, ca no jntech pouj yn tlaloque: iehoan ynjxcoian, incatjan, in calpolloc, quimoteutiaia in petlachiuhque:

yoan tolcuechiuhque, in tlacuechjuhque, ytech mopoaia:

iuh quitoaia, ca iehoatl achto quinmachti, quimittiti, in petlachiualiztli, yn icpalchiualiztli:

iehoatl axcaua cuecuecoaia, tlatqujoa, tlanextile, tlatzintile, tlapexaltile.

Joan iuh quitoaia ca iehoatl quixnaltia, quiquixtia, in toli in tolpixtaoac, in tolpatlactli, in tolmjmjlli, aztapili, in tolquijuil, in tolcaputl, yn jtztoli, xomali:

yoan yn iquac illujuhquiçaia, iuh mjtoa, tepapaca, tealtia, tepan quiztemoloa, tepan quipixca, yn aoachtli, cenca tlaihtlaxililoia.

Auh no ce tlacatl, ipan quixeoaia, tlacotli, in quimictiaia ceixtlatica:

---

110. Corresponding Spanish version states that "este cubierto con una manera aguel, y sobre el aguel, una red negra: de manera que aguel, se parege, por las mallas de la red."

111. The *tlatlahuhqui* also has been referred to as a commissioned corporal-hand designs.

[618] 112. *Calpolli*—that is gens, which consisted, probably, of heads of old families, exempted domestic offices, distributed its common lands among members (Siller: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 85, citing Alonso de Zorita: *Breve sumaria relacion*, Vol. II, pp. 72-227). In various of his writings Sahagun uses the word "guild" when the context suggests its suitability.

113. Corresponding Spanish text says, "hacen cubiertas de juncias: que llaman ochcacalli."

114. Cf. Sahagun: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 149 and Vol. III, p. 272.

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

The seventeenth month they called Tititl. In this month they celebrated a feast to a goddess whom they named Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Tonan, and by [still] another name, Cozcamiauh. In honor of this goddess they slew a woman, and as soon as they had torn out her heart they struck off her head and performed a dance with it. He who went before carried the head by the hair, in his right hand, making [with it] the gestures of the dancer.

Chapter 17
Tititl

This woman whom they slew in this feast they arrayed in the adornments of that goddess whose likeness [she was], called Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Tonan, which meaneth "Our Mother." This woman, thus bedight with the adornments [which are] set forth in the description, danced alone. A number of old men made music for her; and, dancing, she sighed and wept, mindful that soon she was to die. After midday, the priests arrayed themselves in the ornaments of all the gods, and went before her, and took her up to the pyramid where she was to die. Having stretched her out upon the sacrificial stone, they tore out her heart, and they struck off her head. Then one of those who went adorned as a god took [it], and, [with him] foremost, carrying it by the hair, they performed a dance with it. He who bore it in his right hand guided [them], and he made the dance gestures with it.

On the same day that the servants of the idols slew this woman, they performed certain mock-battles, and made merry, running—some behind the others—up and down the pyramid, enacting certain ceremonies.

On the next day, all the common folk made a number of sacks, like pockets, with some cords attached, as much as a fathom long. They filled these

1. Mexicanul anotimpul: *Semnarea lui Huei ueytoz*.

Al mes decimo septimo llamauan Tititl. En este mes haziã fiesta a vna diosa que llamauã Jlamatecutli, y por otro nombre Tona, y por otrò nombre cozcamjauh, a honrra desta diosa: matauan vna muger, y desque le aviã sacado el coraçon cortauanle la cabeça y hazian areyto con ella, el que yva adelante lleuaua la cabeça por los cabellos eñ la mano derecha, haziendo sus ademanes de bayle.

Cap. 17:
Tititl.

El mesmo dia que matauã esta muger los mjnjstros de los ydolos, haziã ciertas escaramuças y regozijos: corriendo vnos tras otros el cu, arriba y el cu abaxo haziendo ciertas cerimonjas.

El dia sigujente todos los populares hazian vnas talegas como bolsas, con vnos cordeles atadas tan largos como vn braço: hinchian aquellas talegas de

2. Mexicanul anotimpul: *Xiçitzoçtli dovnjeçi*.

X 796
565
524

sacks with soft things, like wool, and they carried them hidden under their capes, and they struck, with the bags, all the women whom they might meet in the streets. This game reached such lengths that the boys also made bags and with them mauled the girls so much that they made them weep. Many other ceremonies were performed in this celebration, which are set forth at length in the account of this feast.

cosas blandas como lana y llegauanlas escondidas debaxo de las mantas, y a todas las mugeres que topauan por la calle, dauanlas de talegazos: llegaua a tanto este juego, que tambiē los muchachos hazian las talegas y aporreauan con ellas a las muchachas tāto que las hazian llorar. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian esta fiesta q̄ estan a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce itzcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and consuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La trezena fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce itzcuintli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mjsmas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mjsmo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solẽnjdad, de sus electiones, combites, y areytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

796 [314] [289] 778 [565] [666] [431] 721

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que tratauan en el agua: ansi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

[776] [463]

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinta decima fiesta mouible comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuẽta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

777 787 565 852 [759]

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La sexta decima fiesta mouible.

Despue los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para

584

Twenty-third Chapter, which telleth of the feast and of the honors which they performed on the feast day in the fourth month, which was known as Uei toçoztli.[1]

This [feast of] Uei toçoztli was thus carried out: to begin with, for four days there was fasting in the houses. [There] the young men set up the cattails,[2] covered and sprinkled with blood, everywhere [in the houses].

They arranged them all in the houses, and offered, erected, and set up, the cattails before their gods; they cut, severed, and reaped [the grass] near the [white] ends. These [ends] they anointed with blood.

And anyone [who was a] young man drew blood, quite of his own will, from his leg or from his ears.

And where there were riches, where there was prosperity—in the houses of the lords, the leaders, the chiefs, the merchants, [the youths] laid out [a bed of] fir branches[3] for the cattails, and balls of grass whose outer edges were woven into a fringe.

In the middle of these they placed *maguey*[3a] thorns; these they set on them, also anointed and sprinkled with blood, at eventide, when a little sun [still shone], when the sun had not yet entered his house. Then they made their offerings.

And at night, the women made [a gruel of ground maize called] *atolli*—either a thick, white *atolli*[4] or an *atolli* made of a dough of maize softened with lime, or a fruit *atolli*.[5] This *atolli* was known as *aquetzalli*.

Then they swept their tribal temple. And when they had swept, then they poured the *atolli* into the *atolli* vessels.

It spread out shining; it spilled over, sending off heat; its vapor diffused. And when it had cooled,

Jnic cẽpoualli omei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl: yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in qujchioaia, yn jpan ic cemilhujtl, yc nauj metztli: in mitoaia vey toçoztli.

Inin vey toçoztli, ynic muchioaia, oc achtopa naujlhujtl neçaoalo, in techachan: qujquequetza telpopochti tolpactli, tlachezujlli, beezço, tlaezçotilli noujã:

qujcentzacutimanca, in techacha, ymixpan qujmamanaia , qujquequetzaia, qujtitilquetzaia, yn jnteuoan in tolpactli, qujtzinichpeloa qujtacaloa, qujtzinixcoloa, vncan conalaoa in eztli.

Auh in eztli, çan teiollotlama, yn aqujn telpuchtli, itech qujqujxtiaia, ytlanitzco, anoço ynacaztitech.

Auh in necujltonoloia, in netlacamachoia: yn aço tetecuti, teiacanqac, achcacauhti, puchteca, yn inchachan cacxoiatema, in tolpatlactli, çacatapaiolli, tlatenvimololli, tlatenzinepanolli:

tlanepantla qujtlalia: vitztli, itech qujmamana no tlaezujlli, tlaezçotilli teutlacpa, oc achiton tonatiuh, iquac yn aiamo vncalaquj tonatiuh, in qujmamanaia.

Auh in ioaltica, yn oqujchiuhque cioa stolli: aço quauhnexatolli, anoço nextamalatolli, anoço xocostolli: injn stolli moteneoa, aquetzalli:

njman ie ic tlatlachpana yn jncalpulco. Auh yn otlachpanque njmã ie ic qujteteca in stolli, izqujatecomac,

vel pepeiontimanj, pepetlantimanj, totontlapetztic, hypotoc quiztimanj: auh yn oceuh, yn oitztic, yn

---

1. Count Vigil (*Obras Velada*), according to Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 296), Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 274) refers to Uey tepeilhuitl as *gran personaje*, and to Tepeilhuitl as "*pandorilla . . . pequeña criatilla pequeña con alguna cosa de una parva ó cera.*"

2. Sahagún describes them as *espadañas*. Cf. *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Mexico: Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. III, p. 272. Seler, in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 78, has *Bastoncillos* (*Typha sp.*), and in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 83, n. 1, offers *Rohrkolben* or *Kolbenrohr* as alternatives.

3. Fir—*Abies religiosa* (*H. B. K.*) *Schlecht & Cham.* in Clark's *Meadows Codex* (James Cooper Clark, ed. and tr.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol. II, p. 72; pine, in Seler, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 83, citing Molina (*above, dónde dice que es cosa de abeto*) and Hernández (Madrid, 1790, I, 24)—"*arbor est aromatica et ceracea, folium mucronati est cuiusvis, aut conspersum.*" His equation accords with espumoli, as does Garibay (*Llave del náhuatl*, p. 212). Sahagún used the term *knowl silbestre*, Seler says, and adds that *acxoiatl* was a name given to a variety of green branches. It is pictured in No. 371 of Paso y Troncoso's edition of the *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España*, Vol. VII (Lib. XI).

3a. *Agave americana* or century plant. The Mexican term *maguey* is used in this translation.

4. Sahagún, in *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 286: "*quachtonamalli, que es hecho con harina muy cernida y muy blanca, hecha con mapiaquiti.*" In *Einige Kapitel*, p. 84, Seler specifies that the grains of maize were "*mit Pottasche gekochten.*"

5. A sour gruel, in Seler, *loc. cit.* Sánchez (*op. cit.*) states that an acid fruit, such as tamarin, was used.

X 796 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and of the offerings which they made upon the feast day of the sixth month, which was called Etzalqualiztli.**[1]

Jnic cenpoalli ommacuilli capítulo, itechpa tlatoa yn ilhujtl, yoan yn jntlamanaliz in quichioaia, yn ipan ic cemilhujtl, ynic chiquacen metztli, in motenoaia Etzalqualiztli.

Etzalqualiztli: Before the arrival of this feast, which was celebrated, first the priests fasted for the rain god. Before the four days of their fast began, first they gathered reeds there at Citlaltepec. For verily at that place were formed very long reeds called *aztapilin* or *tolmimilli*[2]—very long, very high, and very white at the roots; and rounded, like a stone column.

Etzalqualiztli: ynin ilhujtl, yn aiamo onaxioa, in ipan muchioaia: achtopa motlalocaçaoaia in tlamacazque: nahuilvitl yn aiamo vmpeoa, inneçaoaliz achtopa ontolanaia, vmpa in citlaltepec: ichica ca cenca viiac yn vmpa muchioaia tullin, itoca aztapilin, anoço tolmjmjlli: cenca viac, cenca vitlatztic, yoan cenca tziniztac: yoan mjmjltic temjmjltic.

[137] And when they had plucked them, thereupon they arranged them, they tied them in bundles, they bound them up in their capes, they girt the bundles of reeds in their capes.

Auh yn vmpa conanaia, qujtzcopina, itocaiocan in atlan, temjlco, tepexic, oztoc:

auh yn oconanque, njmã ie ic qujchichioa, qujcujcujtlalpia, qujqujmiloa, qujtotolqujmjloa:

[482] Thereupon they took up [each bundle] in a tump line; they took them up in tump lines. Then [the reeds] were borne upon their backs, carried in the tump lines. And so they lifted up [the reeds]: they were lifted, and [the priests] departed; the departure was made, and they went on their way. None carried the reeds crosswise upon their backs; all bore them quite upright upon their backs.

njman ie ic qujmecapallotia, qujmemecapallotia, njman netlamamaltilo, tlamamalo, tlaizquamamalo: njman ie ic oaleoa, oaleoalo, viloatz, aiac qujxtlapalmama yn aztapili, çan moch queoacamama.

X 796 680 And when the priests went to pluck the reeds, and when they returned, the road [which they followed] was deserted. No others took [the path]; travelers followed it no more.

Auh ynjc vih tolanazque, tlamacazque, yoan inic oalmocuepa, cactimoquetza in vtli, aocac qujtoca, aocmo qujtoca in nenenque:

And if they came upon any men, then they despoiled them of their possessions, they robbed them, they stripped them, they wrested from them all that they had: they snatched away their goods. And if these defended themselves, then [the priests] abused them: they threw them upon the ground, they

auh yntla acame oquinnamjcque, njman vncan qujntlacujcujlia, qujntlanamoielia, qujntlacencujlia, qujntlatlaçaltia: auh intla momapatla, njman qujnmjctia, qujnteretentimaiauj, qujmihiçça qujntitilicça, impan chocholoa, tlalli ic qujujujtequj, qujntlatlal-

---

1. Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. I, p. 92) says: "*Auian una manera de puchas, o palomdas, que se llamas ezmilli*"; and in *ibid.*, p. 148: "*una ezmilli era hecha de maiz cozido, o manera de arroz, y era muy estimadilla.*" Durán, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 210, defines ezmilli as boiled corn and beans. Pino y Troncoso (*op. cit.*, p. 116), in his interpretation of the *Codex Borbonicus* account of this month, "dice la "*las palomdas de ezmilli hechas de frijol, cuyas semillas negras tienen allí sobre la cascara, y de maiz, cuyos granos blancos alternan con los otros negros.*" Seler (*Bisagra Kapitel*, p. 112) has *Bohnenpuffreserve* for Etzalqualiztli. Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 89) regards Etzalqualiztli as derived from *etl* (bean), *zaolin* (unripe ear), and *qualiztli* (eating). In "Relación breve," p. 298, Gardner has "*Comida de maiz y frijoles*," and in his *Libro del vocabulario*, "*ezmilli de puchas.*"

Tovar (Kohler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 25) identifies the feasts of this month as those of the working people and lower class, who were resting after agricultural work. Hence the offering of ezmilli to them.

[221] 565 2. In the Spanish text, Sahagún translates *zacapiltzintli* as "*cosas ensartadas de amarillo blanquez y verdes.*" Tolmimilli, in the Robredo edition, Vol. III, p. 272, is a kind of jewelry. Seler, in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 1, p. 53, equates *zacapiltzin* with *zacapiltic*, and quotes Molina ("*cosa larga, gorda y redonda*"). Jourdanet and Simeon, in their translation (p. 194, n. 3) write that it is the equivalent of *zacapiltic*, "*de zacatl, hoja de maiz seco, o pita, principal, grand*"; of *tolmimilli*, they write: "*sorte de toilon, jonc, or maïs, chanvre enlacé*" (*loc. cit.*).

his vassals. Because verily there was much hunger; when dried maize was costly, then there was much want, [and] it was hard to gain a livelihood; [and] many then were our dead.

And until the time that the Feast Day of the Lords came, upon every day there was song. When singing and dancing began, [it was] toward evening, when only little sun shone. Thereupon fire was laid in the braziers; flame was put upon the braziers.

And the braziers were arranged and ordered in six rows, and in each row were ten [braziers] and [each] brazier was two fathoms thick; and each was as tall as one's hip.[1]

And thereupon all went forth from the house of song, coming singing and dancing. Between [pairs of men] came the women. Light women, harlots, chosen —picked out, set apart.

And they went together, they went taking by the hands the honored ones—the young chieftains, the leaders of the young men, and those with shorn hair, the Otomí, and the noblemen [not warriors. These last] were not arranged in order; of their own free will they placed themselves near the others.

And richly were the women arrayed and bedight; all good were the skirts and shirts which they had put on. Of their skirts, some had [designs of] hearts, some were [embroidered] with a mat design like birds' gizzards, some were ornamented like coverlets, some had spiral or leaf [designs], some were of plain, fine weave. All had borders and fringes; all [the women] wore skirts with borders.

And of their skirts, some had brown [streamers] hanging, some had smoke symbols, some had black [streamers] hanging, some had house designs, some had fish [patterns], some were of plain, fine weave. And the neck [openings] were all large, and their borders were also deep and wide.

And when they danced, they unbound their hair; their hair covered them like a cloak. But they brought braids of their hair across their foreheads.

And they were not decked with feathers; neither were their faces adorned with paint.

And thus were bedecked the chieftains: their array consisted of the cloak of netting. And the brave warriors, they who had straw lip plugs, they had white net cloaks with shells set in fish patterns. [These] were called their vermillion net cloaks.

cenca maianaloia, in jquac cenca tlaçotza in tlaolli, cenca oncā mjhiiovitia, mociavia: cenca vncā tomjqujan catca.

Auh in jxqujchica oalaci tecujlhujtl, izqujlhujtl cujcoia: im peoaia cujcoanaliztli, cenca ça achiton tonatiuh, cenca ça pepetzcatica in tonatiuh: njman ie ic tleteco tlaviltec, ipan in tlaviltetl motlatlalia tletl.

Auh in tlaviltetl viuipantoca, tetecpantoca, chiquacenpantitoca: auh in cempantli, matlatlatetl, actimanca: auh ynjc totomaoac catca tlaujltetl, hoontlacujtlanaoatectli: auh ynjc quaquauhtic catca, cecen quapantli:

auh in ié iuhquj, mec oalquixtoa, in cujcacali, cujcatiujtze, mjtotitiujtze, intzatzalan actiujtze in cioa: iehoantin in maaujltia, yn aujenjme: iehoantin in tlatzonanti, in tlapepenti, in tlacenquixtilti:

auh yn qujnnanamictia, yn inmatitech qujmantiuj, çan iehoantin in mauiztililonj in teachcaoan, yoan in telpochtequjoaque, yoan in quaquachicti, yn otomj, yoan in pipilti: amo tehoan motecpana, çan jllotlama, incāpa onmoquetza tetlan.

Auh in cioa uel mocencaoa, vel moiecchichioa, much qualli in conmaquja, yn jncue, yn jvipil: yn incue cequj iollo, cequj totolitipetlaio, cequj cacamoliubquj, cequj ilacatziuhquj, anoço tlatzcallotl, cequj çan petztic, muchi tene, muchi tlatenio, muchi cuetenio.

Auh yn invipil, cequj quappachpipilcac, cequj pocuipilli, cequj pocujpilli, cequj iapalpipilcac, cequj cacallo, cequj mjmjchcho, cequj çan petztic. Auh yn jtoxquj much uetuei: yoan yn iten cenca no papatlaoac, papatlactic.

Auh yn iquac mjtotia, qujtoua yn jntzon, çan intzon qujquequentinemj: auh yn jntzon ipiloaz, ymixquac qujoalteca.

Auh amo mopetonja, amono moxaoa.

Auh ynic muchichiotia in teachcaoan, yn jnnechchicoal catca, ihoutl in cuechintli: auh in tiacaoan, in teçacoaque, ymixtaccuechin cilin ynic mjmjchcho, motocaiotia innochpalcuechin.

1. Cf. corresponding Spanish text. Literally, *Asentáronjóloaxoxouhtli* may be rendered "two can take (it) in their embrace." *Por cuero quepanti*, Sahagún has "un estado."

space], once more they circled back and returned [whence they had started].

And when it all ceased, already it was late at night, already time for all to sleep, as when one noddeth; today [that would be] at about the ninth hour.

And when all had stopped, when the ground drum was undone, then all dispersed, all went, all betook themselves to their homes. The great noblemen, when it was done, were accompanied by torches; they went lighted by torches, carried for them, to their homes.

And the women who had danced then were assembled, after there had been the song and dance, and they led them off. Even so was done with the leaders of the youths. They gathered [the women] together, grouped them, rounded them up, placed them together, assembled them, hunted them out,—lest they might go off somewhere, lest someone might accompany them, lest some debauched youth might go with [one of them].

None the less, the noblemen addressed the matrons, that they might go and release some [of the women] or go and leave [one]. Not of their free will did [the women] go elsewhere; it was done on persuasion.

And when they released them, [the girls] were given presents. Gifts were given, and food was given. And likewise, favors were offered the leaders of the women, the matrons. They kept for themselves and carried that which they saved to their homes.

And the young warriors, the young warriors who had distinguished themselves, who were worthy of honors, made their plea for the women only in secret, not before others; perchance in his home [such an one] awaited her, perchance elsewhere he called her. Just so, they ate privily.

And the woman came forth only at night and spent only the night [with him]; she departed when it was well into the night.

And if one was noted living in concubinage, thus he aroused anger; thus he gave offense. For this all assembled and held council there in the song-house.

Here, before everyone, they punished him. Because of [his crime] they cut off his warrior's hair dress; they took from him all his belongings—his adornment, his lip plug. Thereafter, they beat him sorely with a pine stick, verily causing him to swoon; they singed his head with fire; smoke rose, and blisters formed on his body.

And when they had indeed caused him to swoon, then they cast him forth.

vmpa tlantoc, oc cepa momalacachoa, in cujtlaujc, oalmocuepa.

Auh in necaoaloa, ie tlaquauhioca, ie netetequizpan: yn iuh mixtlaxilia axcan aço ie chicunauj ora.

Auh in ie ixquich, yn onecacaoaloc, yn ompet vcuetl, mec cecenmanoa, viujloa, yn ixquichtin viuj yn inchachan: in veuei pipilti, onca caoalo, tlavilpan, tlaujlilotiuj, qujntlatlaujlitiuj yn inchan.

Auh yn cioa yn otenaoaque, njman mocentlalia, in ie oncujcoianoloc, in qujiacana, yn iuhq' yn tiachcaoan muchioa, qujnnechicoa, qujntecpichoa, qujmololoa, qujncenquixtia, qujcentecpichoa, vel qujmixpepena, yn ma aca canapa ia, yn ma aca moteujcalti, in ma aca telpuchtlaueliloc qujujca:

tel in pipilti, qujmonilhujaia in cioa tlaiacanque, ynic cequintin qujncaoatiuj, tecaoatiuj: amo çan moiocoiaia yn canapa via, tetencopa muchioaia.

Auh yn ontecaoaia, vmpa motlauhtiaia, vmpa tlauhtiloia, yoã vmpa tlamacoia: auh no tlatlauhtiloia, in cioatachcaoan, in cioateiacanque, motlacauja, motlatlacauja, quitquj yn inchachan innetlacaujl.

Auh in teachcaoan, inteachcauh, tlaiacatia, in mauiztililonj, çan ichtaca in qujnnaoatia cioa, amo teixpan, aço ichan in qujchietiuh, anoço canapa in qujnaoatia: çan iuhquj, yn ichtacaquaia.

Auh in çioatl, çan oaliooalquiça, çan moioalpoloa, oc ueca ioan in quiça:

auh intla aca ittoz, in momecatitinemj, ic tlaqualnjaia, ic tlaiolitlacoaia, ica necentlalilo, yca nenonotzalo, in vncan cujcacali:

vncan teixpan qujtlatzacuiltia, ic qujtzotzocoltequj, muchi qujcujlia in ixquich ytlatquj, yn inechichioal, yn itempilol: çatepan qujujujtequj, ocoquaubtica, vel qujhiiocaoaltia, qujquatlechichinoa, tlẽtlecaleoa, haaquaqualaca, yn inacaio.

Auh yn ouelqujhijocaoaltique, yca oalmaiauj:

874

Fourth Chapter, in which it is related how the common folk left their sons in the young men's house, and what customs existed there in the young men's house, so that all were trained and reared.[1]

When a boy was born, then they placed him in the priests' house or the young men's house. That is to say [the parents] promised [the child], gave him as a gift, and brought him as an offering to the temple of the priests' house in order that [the boy] become a priest, or a young [warrior].

If he entered the young men's house, [the parents] promised him to it; they prepared drink and food. They summoned, assembled, and addressed the leaders of the young men. They who had sons [thus] prayed. They said:

"Our lord, savior and protector of all, hath been pleased to place you here. For here you know and are told that our lord hath given [us one like] a precious stone, a quetzal feather. For a child hath come down [to us. Perhaps] he will have that which he hath need of that he may mature. Already he [is like] a jewel. Shall we perchance lay in his hand a spindle and a weaving stick? [For] he is yours; he is your child, your son.

"It is by your grace that we place him [among] your beloved sons, that you may rear, and train, and make of him a brave man of war, raising him to serve our mother and our father, Tlaltecutli and Tonatiuh.

"And now to him we dedicate [the boy]—to the shadow and the wind, the lord, the young [god], Yaotzin, Titlacauan, Tezcatlipoca.[2] Perchance our lord may sustain him a little.

"We leave him [with you that] he may become a young [warrior]; that he may dwell there in the house of penances, of weeping, of tears—the young

Injc nauj capitulo: vncā mjtoa, in quenjn macehoaltin, qujmoncaoaia in inpilhoan yn vmpa telpuchcali, yoan in quenjn tlamanja vmpa telpuchcali in juh nezcalitiloia neoapacaloa.

In iquac otlacat piltontli njmā caquja yn calmecac, in anoço telpuchcali, quitoznequi, quinetoltia, vmpa quivenchioa, quivenmana in teupan in calmecac injc tlamacazquj iez, yn anoço telpuchtli.

Jntla telpuchcali caquja, quinetoltia qujcēcaoa, in atl in tlaqualli, qujnnotza qujncentlalia, qujntlatlauhtia in telpuchtlatoque, tlatlatlauhtia in piloaque. Quitoa,

Ca njcan anechoalmotlalilia in totecujo in tloque naoaque. A ca njcan anquimocuilia anquimocaquitia, ca oqujmomacavili in totecujo ce coxcatl quetzalli, a, onecavi piltzintli, aviz nelle axcan motetzaoalitznequj, ie peioctzintli, cujx malacatl tzotzopaztli, ymac tictequilizque, ca amaxcatzin, ca amoconetzin, ca amopiltzin,

amocuexantzico, amomamaloaztzinco tocontlalia ca amopilhoantzitzin, ca ātlacazcaltia, ca antlacaopaoa, ca anquatubchioa, amocolochioa, anquitlacaopavilia, in tonan in tota in tlaltecutli tonatiuh.

auh in axcan ca ivic tiquitoa in iovalli in ehecatl in tlacatl in telpuchtli in iaotzin in titlacaoan in Tezcatlipuca, aço achitzin qujmotoctilis in ichoatzin totecujo,

ticcaoa telpuchtiz, vmpa nemiz in tlamacecalizcali, yn choquizcali, yn jiaiocali, in telpuchcali, in vncā

1. Francisco Javier Clavigero, in *Historia antigua de México* (Mexico: Editorial Porrua, S. A., 1945), II, pp. 199f., says they were taken to the *telpochcalli* (as well as the *calmecac*) at the age of fifteen. He cites *Codex Mendoza*, Plates 53 ff. All went for three years of instruction (religion, good usage, good behavior). All else attended, he says, *seminaries*—nobility going to one type, commoners to another. Boys trained children, some youths, and some girls. The sexes were segregated. Men remained until the age of twenty or twenty-two, women until seventeen or eighteen. Attaining his majority, by his request or by arrangements made by his parents, a youth left this training to marry. Men usually followed their fathers' vocations.

The *telpochcalli*, according to Cruz (*op. cit.*, p. 54) prepared the young men for war. Discipline was less severe than in the *calmecac* and education less intensive. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, pp. 220-21) indicates a certain amount of laxity.

Clavigero (*loc. cit.*) and Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 471) agree that girls were raised in seclusion and had no contact with boys or men. They slept and they went out only under the supervision of old women. They were taught how to address their elders with respect. Specifically, Clavigero mentions simple duties (sweeping, offering of incense three times during the night, preparing food for the idols); weaving and other womanly arts; and general preparation for marriage. Torquemada enumerates some of the punishments for misbehavior.

2. Tezcatlipoca was the patron of the *telpochcalli* and the education of warriors (Cruz, *op. cit.*, p. 27). Cf. also Torquemada, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-21.

[565]

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

Seventh Chapter, in which it is told how the chiefs and noblemen left their children there at the priests' house, and what manner of customs were observed at the place called the priests' house.

Chiefs, noblemen, and others besides who were well born, these same took their sons, and promised them, to the priests' house; and also any others [did so] who wished it.[1]

All became priests—the noblemen because the place of rearing in the priests' house, the school, the place of instruction, [was] a place of chastity, a place of reverence, of reflection, of prudence, of virtue, of righteousness. For then [there was] no filth nor vice, nothing blamable in the lives of the priests [and] in the training [given in] the priests' house.[2]

A chief, nobleman, lord, or anyone who was rich, when such vowed to bring his sons [to the priests' house], prepared drink and food. He summoned and assembled the priests, and invited the old priests, and gathered those who were well born.[3] The old men made an entreaty; the old ones besought the priests, and said to them:

"Our lords, priests, you have been pleased to bring yourselves here; you have taken your noble feet [through various places]. Perchance straw or grass you have somewhere touched with your feet; perchance in some place you may have injured or knocked something against your revered feet.

"Our lord hath placed you here. You must know and hear, verily, [that] now our lord, savior and protector of all, hath given one [who is as] a jewel, a quetzal feather.

"We have dreamed; we have quickly arisen. Now, what will the boy, [this] small child, be? Surely we shall not offer him a spindle and a batten. For he is your chattel, your charge. We now pray to the lord Topiltzin, Quetzalcoatl,[4] to him who is feathered in

Injc chiccome capitulo: vncan moteneoa, yn quenjn tlatoque, pipiltin quimõcaoaia, inpilhoan yn vmpa calmecac, yoan in quenamj tlamantiliztli, ynjc tlamanja in vmpa moteneoa calmecac.

In tlatoque in pipilti, yoan in oc cequjntin vel nanti, vel tati, çan ien vmpa in qujmaquja in qujnnetoltia in jnpilhoan, yn calmecac: yoan in oc cequjntin in-aqujn quinequi,

muchiotin tlamacazque muchioa in pipilti ypampa, in nezcaliloian calmecac, in tenonotzaloia, in teiçcaltiloian, chipaoaca nemooaid, necciiiecoloia, nẽmachoia, ixtlamachoia, qualtioaia, iectioaia: çan njmã hatzoio, hateuhio, atle iniaioca in tlamacazque innemiliz, yn calmecac neoapaoaliztli.

Jn tlatoanj, pilli, tecutli, yn anoço aca mocuiltonoa in iõc quinetoltia in caquja jnpiltzin quicencaoa yn atl, in tlaqualli, qujnnotza qujncentlalia in tlamacazque, yoan qujnnotza in quaquacujlti, yoã qujncentlalia yn nanti, yn tati, in veuetque, tlatlatlauhtia in vevetlaca, qujntlatlauhtia in tlamacazque quimilhuja.

Totecujooane, tlamacazquee, nican anoalmouicatiaque amocxitzin anquioalmanilique, aço tlacotl, çacatl cana oanquioalmocrinamiquilique, aço cana amocxitzin oanquioalmocuelhuique, oanquioalmotecujnilique;

ca njcan anechoalmotlalilia in totecujo, anquimocuilia, anquimocaquiltia, a ca nelle, axcan centetl cuecatl quetzalli, oquimomacavili in toteujo, in tloque naoaque

tiemiqui, tiocchitleoa, a ca nelle axcan tle oniez, in piltõtli, in conetontli: cujx malacatl, tzotzopaztli, aticmacazque, ca amaxcatzin, ca amotlaquiltzin, yn axcan ivictzinco tiquitoa in tlacatl in topiltzin in Quetzalcoatl, in tlilpotõqui, calaquiz in calmecac, in

1. Torquemada, *op. cit.*, p. 22, says they were taken by the ruler at the age of four. Clavigero, *op. cit.*, pp. 199, 200, says the age for those entering both the *calmecac* and the *telpochcalli* was fifteen.

2. Training and standards of conduct were much more rigorous in the *calmecac* than in the *telpochcalli*. Cf. Cruz, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

Cruz (*ibid.*, pp. 57) points out that all learning was in priestly hands—science, star lore (magic, science, time-reckoning), the calendar (prediction of the future, astrology), mythology, history, hieroglyphic writing, law. These bodies of knowledge may indicate a curriculum for the *calmecac*. Priests also participated in the wars and were the formal educators.

3. *Ye nenti, ye nel*: an alternative meaning could be "those with fathers and mothers." Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 347), translates: "*Ihr guten Verhältnisse sind befindlichen Mütter (und) Väter.*"

4. Quetzalcoatl was patron of the *calmecac* and of the education of priests and noblemen (Cruz, *op. cit.*, p. 20).

-59-

814
793
565

black, that he may enter the priests' house, the house of weeping, of tears, and of sadness, where grow and ripen the sons of our lords.

"And there prayers are raised to the savior and protector of all; there he poureth forth prayers to our lord; there he is importuned with weeping, tears, and sighs. There one is given [gifts], and is chosen for him [our lord]. For there we speak in his worthy house—there where [the shell trumpet] is blown, where the fire is bored, where the children of our lords are reared—where there is sweeping, the clearing of trash; where [sin] is put to one side. [This] disposition our lord will bring about.[1]

"In your noble laps, on your revered backs, in your valued protection we place the child. Grant him [your love], for we give you our child. Grant him your love; give him [your protection]. May he be planted here that he may be reared and wax strong; that he may do penances all night and all day, going about on elbow and on knee, calling and crying out to our lord, weeping, sad, and sighing.

"This is all which you have been caused to know and to hear, O priests."

Behold how the priests responded and replied:

"Here we have taken and received your valued spirit and words. Although we are unworthy, although we do not deserve it, although we do not merit it, your valued spirit and words have come forth [telling] how and why you are anguished over your jewel, your quetzal feather. But we only hear [on behalf of] our lord Topiltzin, Quetzalcoatl, of him who is feathered in black. What will he require of your jewel, your quetzal feather? What will he wish of you? What will become of your jewel and quetzal feather?

"Without doubt we would be foolish [to say] that thus this [is], that this one [is] thus. Let us all trust in our lord, savior and protector of all. What will he wish of us? Let us put our trust in him."

choquizcali, in jtaiocali, in tlaoculcalli, in vncan itcaltilo, oapacalo in totecujooan in tepilhoā.

auh in vncan tlatlanililo, in tloque naoaque, in vncan ixillā, itoxcatlan mamaisooa in iehoatzin totecujo, in vncan tlamatataquililo, in choq'atica, in jtaiootica in elciciuilizticа: auh in vncan motetlamamaquilia, in vncan motepepenilia in iehoatzin, ca vmpa toconitos in ichantzinco, in vncā pitzalo, mamaisoa in itcaltilo ī totecujooa, in tepilhoan, in vncan ochpanoaztli, tlacuiciuilizdi, chico tlanaoac, tlatequilizdi quimochivililiz in totecujo:

amocuexantzinco, amoteputzinco, amomamalhoaztzinco, tocontlalia, manoço tlacaoa in amoiollotzin, ca tamechtoconemaquilia, ma tlacaoa yn amoiollotzin ma xiquallmanilican, ma quimonnelo, in itcaltilo, in oapacalo, in tlamaceoa in ccioal, cemilhujtl, in jmolicpitzin, in jntetepontzin ic tlaccatimj in quimonochilia, in quimotzatzililia in totecujo, in choca, in tlaocuia, in elciciv;

ca itquijch y, anquimocujlia, anquimocaqujtia tlamacazquehe.

Jtcatquj, injc tlananquiliaia, ynjc quicuepaia tlatolli in tlamacazque.

Ca njcan tonconcuj toconana in amihjotzin, in amotlatoltzi ma çā tehoan titottati, ma tictolhuiltocati, ma tictomactocati, in njcan oalquiça in amihjotzin, in amotlatoltzi injc ica, injc ipampa, anmoñetlamachitia, in amoconquj, in amoquetzal, ca çan tictotlacaquililia in totecujo in tepiltzin in Quetzalcoatl, in tlilpotonquj anca quen quimonequililia, in amoconquj, in amoquetzal. auh anca quen amechmonequililia yn amehoantzin, anca quenami ica, in cuecatl, in quetzalli,

mach tocenteotenitalhuiaque in ma iuhqui, y, in ma iehoatl, y, ma tictocentepachilicā in totecujo, in tloque naoaque, quen techmonequililia, ma oc titlacentemachica,

1. Mention of the protection of the god and the priest, and of expected rewards, is probably a reference to the fact that from the ceremony since the priesthood and high military, administrative, and judiciary officials (*Ibid.*, pp. 52 ff.). Durán (*op. cit.*, pp. 174-5) writes: "La segunda manera de bautizar los hombres era por la ydalguia allegandose al sacerdocio de donde despues de honor servido en los templos con gran exemplo y penitencia y reconocimiento de ydolos ensalzan los ancianos a dignidades y cargos honrrosos en las republicas que oy en dia tienen sumo oficio dentro sumo dinidad y mandan que hablando en nuestra manera y segun el respecto y reverencia acabe hagia y oy en dia se les haze en cierta dicha cerimonia despues o marauillosa oblacion o ofrenda que para esto se celebravan los ayunos y se juntavan los parientes y conocidos se juntavan a los combites y juntas. Los reyes dio el ayuno y penitencia dentro en aquellos dias quando se hazian los ayunos hagia ynsta cabo el mismo modo que los comunes que en cumplimiento dicho para descargo de su real cumplimiento asi a la manera ayunavan estos grandes en aquellos dias quando se hazian los ayunos y penitencia y tenian y hida y concepto a los quales quando los dichos ynbia dignidades y ynsignias hagian muchas ceremonias ynsignias segun hazia cumplia honrrandolos la dicha cera que ayunavan ynbiavan ynbiandoles de nuevo que pudiesen dalle el nombre de dicha ceremonia para esta ynsignias ceremonias celebravan grandes publicidades y solemnidad de cumplimos honrrando gran fiesta y banquete y oy en dia se haze el mismo la qual puesto ofrecian cierta manera de bixa para que se hallasen en esta de quatro grados dichos y para que los que subian y entrauan el primer dicho quatro dichos los dichos quedos eran cinchados a mayor discretamente marcharchandly discrebrchabbinessy empressment hidgeonnessly chickabiddy squeers."

Then they bore the child to the temple. The parents carried paper and incense. Chiefs or noblemen [took] breech clouts, capes, precious neck bands, quetzal feathers, and green stones, which they offered as gifts. The poor took only [their] paltry papers and incense, or sweet smelling herbs, which they used as their gifts.

When they had taken [the children] there, they then anointed them with black; they covered their faces well with a black paste. They then gave them neck bands of the roots of the birthwort.[6] A poor [child] they only provided a neck band of loose cotton. Then they cut his ears and cast the child's blood before the image of the devil. If he was yet a small child, then the parents took him [away]. If he was a chief's son, they left his neck band there at the temple; the priest took it away.

Then [the priests] taught him all the manner of living and rules by which they lived in the priests' house.

Niman quivica in piltontli in teupan, amatl, copalli in quitquj in pilhoaque, in tlatoque anoço pipilti, maxtlatl, tilmatli, cozcatl, quetzalli chalchivitl, in quivenchioaia. Yn jcnotlacatl çan amatzintli, copaltzintli, anoço yiauhtli in quitquj in jnven muchioa, 874 793 565

yn oconvicaque, njman cohça tliltica, vel quiztlilpopotza, njman tlacopatli quicouzcatia, yn jcnoçiáca çan ixquich potonquj quicouzcatia, njmá quinacaztequi, contlatlaxilia in ixiptla Diablo in iezio piltõtli, intla oc piltontli oc quivica in pilhoaque, intla tlatooanj ipiltzin, iczquj vmpa ..ncaoaia in teupan, conana in tlamacazque, [302] [301]

njman quimachtia yn ixquich nemiliztli, njc nemoa calmecac, in tlatecpantli.

6. *Aristolochia mexicana* (Hemsley, op. cit.).

[p. 62 is blank]

S: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

The Eighth Chapter telleth how they held in dread hunger and famine when One Rabbit ruled the year count, and what they first did when the year count of One Rabbit had not yet begun.

Ixóc chicuey capítulo, itechpa tlatoa: inic quimacacia apiztli, in maianaliztli, in icnac tlauicnia, in xiuhtlapoalli in ce tochtli: yoan in tlein achtopa quichioaia, in aiamo vmpeoa xiuhtlapcálli, ce tochtli.

And [even] when [the year] One Rabbit had not yet set in, first provision was made; our food was hidden away, stored, saved up, and placed in bins. Nothing was thrown away; all then was saved—wild seeds not commonly eaten; ininty maize; corn silk; corn tassels; pulp scraped from maguey tappings, tuna cactus flowers; cooked maguey leaves; heated maguey sap.

Auh in icnac, aiamo moquetza ce tochtli: achtopa nenemachtiloia, netlatlatililo, netetzontilo, netlacatilo, mocuecuecomatema in tonacaiotl: inic tle mauiaça, muchicnac netlatililo in polocatl, in popoiotl, in xilotzóltli, in miiacatl, in metzolli, in nochxochitl, in mexcalli, in necutlatotonilli.

Everything was taken into account: [with] amaranth, even the weeds[10] were threshed; [as for] the beans, likewise were stored and put away unripened ones and the dried, withered ends of the green beans. And when they had used all, they satisfied and quickened themselves [with] bird seed, bitter amaranth or bright red amaranth, and *yacacolli* maize.[11]

Auh inic muchi temachiloia, in cauhtli çan yuã mocononoa in ipolocaio: in etl çan yoan motlatiaia, mocalaquiaia in iaxaoacaio, yoan in jexococoloio in opetzoac. Auh icnac, muchi tlaiecoa, tlacotlaça tlahiiocuiçia in petzicatl, in chichic cauhtli, anoço teocauhtli, iacacolli:

This was the time when they bought people;[12] they purchased men for themselves. The merchants were those who had plenty, who prospered; the greedy, the well-fed man, the covetous, the niggardly, the miser, who controlled wealth and family, guardians, the mean, the stingy, the selfish. In the homes of [such men] they crowded, going into bondage, entering house after house—the orphan, the poor, the indigent, the needy, the pauper, the beggar, who were starved and famished; who just as they went to sleep, just so awoke; who found nothing and got nowhere; who in no place found their rest, relief or remedy. At this time one sold oneself. One ate oneself; one swallowed oneself. Or else one sold and delivered into bondage his beloved son, his dear child.

ie icnac tecoa, motlacacouia, in vnca quicoani, in mocuiltonoa, in motlacamati, in tlãtlamati, tlaixmotiani, atle quiscaoa, tlaixmachiiuhqui, tlaçaloani, tlapachoani, tlamalbuiani, teuic, taoxoca, motzol: ichan maaquia, mihitoa, mocacalaquia in icnotlacatl, in motolinja, in quiciaui, in quihiiouia: in aoneeotinemi, in aonmacitinemi, in apizmicqui, in truciuhque: in iuhqui cochi, in iuhqui mcoa, in aualnecini, in aoccan vitz, in aoccan quitta ihiiocuiia, icuihca, ipatica: ie vncan in monamaca, in moqua, in motoloa: anoço quinamaca, quimonamaquilia in ipiltzin, in iconetzin:

805 262

805 567 565 735

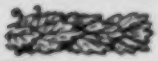
12. *In amehkê yan yuã in ipalnemoa*: cf. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), II, p. 260: "Amehkê quiteneque, or *la acculle de los cosinos sin limpiar, con todos sus inconvenientes*." Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 69. Ixo "*Aiotzo tlen ompa amehkê ihcac Xochitlalpan ome.*"

10. Some of these terms are identified in Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 63. *Yacacolli* is described in Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva-España* (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Simeon, eds.; Paris: G. Masson, Editeur, 1880), p. 111, n. 2, as "*espèce de maïs*," thus also the Robredo edition, Vol. I, p. 159

11. The translation of this passage differs in some details from that of Jones (*op. cit.*, pp. 69-71), q. v.

Quiteneque appears in the *Real Palacio 343* as *quiquenec*. The term could be translated, "those who are people." Cf. *in tenepa* (see *tei tenemiti*), toward the end of the paragraph.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7



Eighth Chapter, in which are told the various articles with which they adorned the rulers and noblemen—which they placed on them when they were bedight in capes and breech clouts.

Injc chicuei capitulo, vncan mjtoa in jaqujtlamantli: in nechichioaia tlatoque in jpiltzi in jntech qujtlaliaia, injc mocencaoaia in tilmatli in maxtlatl.

565
531
292

The cape with the serpent mask design, bordered with eyes;[1]	Coaxaiacaio tilmatli, tenjxio,
The cape with the conch shell design, bordered with eyes;[2]	tecucizio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with a design of stone discs, bordered with eyes;[3]	temalacaio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with the obsidian serpent design, bordered with eyes;[4]	itzcoaio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with wine-god jar design, bordered with eyes;[5]	vmetochtecomaio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with the butterfly design, bordered with eyes;	papaloio tilmatli tenjxio,
The cape with an eagle's face painted on it, bordered with eyes;[6]	xocalquauhio tilmatli tenjxio,
The red-bordered ocelot cape, in the middle of which stood an ocelot;[7]	ocelotentlapalli iiic icac oçelotl,
The cape of dark green diagonally divided, in the middle of which stood an obsidian eagle;[8]	chicoiapalli nacazmjnquj iiic icac itzquauhtli,
The cape of blue knots diagonally divided,[9] on which a spear-eagle stood;	xiuhtlalpilnacazmjnquj, tlacochquauhtli vncan icac,
The maguey fiber cape, with an ocelot tail pendant;	quetzalichtilmatli ocelocujtlapillo
The cape of shining maguey fiber [ornamented with] fluttered heads;	quetzalichpetztli, quapatlacio tilmatli,
The orange cape with the wind jewel[10] [design] and the feathered border;	camopalecaconcaio, tenjujio tilmatli,
The orange cape with a striped border;	camopaltenoneanquj tilmatli,
The light blue cape with a wind jewel design, which had a border of feathers with spirals;	xpalecaconcaio tilmatli, injtica tenclaiaoalo,
The carmine-colored cape with an eye border;	nochpaltilmatli tenjxio,

1. Fol. 36r of Book VIII of the *Florentine Codex* defines the border with eyes or ocelots. Also see corresponding Spanish text.
2. Cf. James Cooper Clark: *Codex Mendoza* (London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), III, fol. 46.
3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.
4. Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, fol. 51.
5. Cf. *loc. cit.*
6. Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 49. An alternative translation might be "the colored eagle border cape."
7. Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 31. See also Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 522.
8. Respectively see, however, Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 161.
9. *Xiuhtlalpilli* might refer to a design suggested by the ceremony of tying the years.
10. See, however, corresponding Spanish text, in which pinwheel is described as a flower; see also Book VIII of the *Codex*, fol. 36r.

565
292
531

The tawny cape with a spiral border;	quappachtentlaiocalo tilmatli,
The coyote fur cape with a spiral border;	cuiochcatentlaiocalo tilmatli,
The tawny, knotted cape;	quappachtalpilli tilmatli,
The cape with scorpion design stripes;	colotlaxochio tilmatli,
The tawny cape with the water spider;	quapachatocaio tilmatli,
The tawny cape with the butterfly;	quappapaloio tilmatli,
The ocelot cape;	ocelotilmatli,
The cape with the eagle's leg;	quauhtetepeio tilmatli,
The cape with the ocelot skin step design;[11]	ocelotxicalcoliuhquj tilmatli,
The ocelot cape;	ocelotilmatli,
The half-ocelot, half-eagle cape;	ocelocuauhtlatlapanquj tilmatli,
The tawny cape provided with the design of an eye upon a hooked element;[12]	quappachtzcoliuhquj tilmatli,
The cape with the design of a ladder on the earth;	tlallecacuzio, tilmatli,
The cape with an embroidered, radiating design;	tlamachmoiaoac tilmatli,
The cape of duck feathers with a colored border;	xomoiujtilmatli tentlapallo,
The cape of duck feathers with [a design of] flattened heads;	xomoiujtilmatli quappatlacio,
The white duck feather cape, bordered with eyes;	iztac xomoiujtilmatli tenjxio
The duck feather cape, with [a design of] young ears of maize;	xomoiujtilmatli elotic
The wolf skin cape;	cujtlaichujtilmatli,
The blue knotted [cape], bordered with eyes;	xiuhtlalpilli tenjxio,
The cape with a sun [design], bordered with eyes;	tonatiuhio tilmatli tenjxio,
The old cape with the eagle head design;[13]	quauhtzonteconio tilmatli mamanquj,
The cape with the war symbol;	tenatl tlachinoltilmatli,
The cape with the basket flower design;[14]	ocalxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the young maize ear flower design;[15]	elotxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the colored prince's flower design;	tlapaltecuxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the dahlia design;[16]	acuxuxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the plumeria flower design;[17]	cacalotxuchio tilmatli,
The cape with the poinsettia design;[18]	cuetlaxxuchio tilmatli,
The white duck feather cape, diagonally divided;	iztac xomoiujtilmatli nacazmjnquj,
The white duck feather cape, with the face of a wolf;	iztac xomoiujtilmatli cujtlachixio,

---

11. *Cpohtzicalcoliuhqui* (*cuetzpal, tecalli, coliuhqui*—snake, quartz, twisted): geared vessel with curved dimensions. The nature of weaving makes it a stepped design.

12. Cf. representations in *Primeros memoriales*, Cap. IV.

In the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, *yopichtzcoliuhqui tilmatli* follows *quappachtzcoliuhqui tilmatli*.

13. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, I, p. 161 (*quauhtzonteconio*).

14. Pioneer flower design, in Edward Seler: *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Thompson, eds.; Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. II, Part 3, p. 95 (*Antiquarian op.?*). Emily Walcott Emmart, in *The Badianus Manuscript* (*Codex Barberini, Latin 241*) (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 224, calling it a basket flower, says it is a species of *cuauhcozcatl*. Francisco de Santamaría, in *Diccionario general de americanismos* (Mijico: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), II, p. 102, identifies the *huauhtzolcal* (*-tzolcal*) as *Phyllodracaena affinis*, Hemsl.

15. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 96 (*Magnolia sp.?*). Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 275, mentions similar *elotzochitl* belonging to the Compositae.

Yollotzoncuahuitl, here listed in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, is omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.

16. In Francisco Hernández: *Historia de las plantas de Nueva España* (Méjico: Imprenta Universitaria, 1942), I, p. 24, this is *Dahlia excelsa* Cav.; in Seler, *loc. cit.*, *D. variabilis*; in Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 389, *Dahlia sp.*

17. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 806, *Plumeria acutifolia* Poir; in Seler, *loc. cit.*, *P. rubra*; in Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 308, *P. rubra* L. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 251, identifies the *cacalotxochitl* as *P. rubra* L., *P. lancifolia* R. & P., and *P. acutifolia* Poir. Cecile Helm Mottchut, in *Montezuma Plants for American Gardens* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939), pp. 23, 177, lists *P. arguensis*, and refers to it as "frangipani" and "temple flower."

18. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 958, *Euphorbia (Poinsettia) pulcherrima* Willd; in Seler, *loc. cit.*, *Poinsettia pulcherrima*.

565 The cape of colored feathers, with embroidery; tlapaliujtilmatli tlamachio,
292 The cape with the face of a wolf; cuitlachixio tilmatli,
531 The cape with the tips of eagle wings; quauhauitzaio tilmatli,
The cape with a border of popcorn flowers; tenjaquijxochio tilmatli,
The cape with the ivy design;[19] quazoncoltmatli,
The bed covering cape; vevej tilmatli pepechtli,
The mattress;[20] quachpepechtli,
The large cape used to keep oneself dry; vevej tilmatli neoatzaloaj,
The breech clout with the ivy design embroidered at the ends;[21] quazoncacatlamachio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with the market place design; tianquijxio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with the eagle's leg design; quauhtetepoio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with the turquoise mosaic mirror design; xiuhtexcaio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with the butterfly design at the ends;[22] acapapaloio maxtlatl,
The breech clout striped in many colors; centzonmaxtlatl tlatlatlapalpoalli,
The breech clout made of twenty pieces,[23] with the wind jewel design at the ends;[24] cempoalçotl acahecacozcaio,
The tawny colored breech clout with embroidered ends; quappachmaxtlatl acan tlamachio,
The carmine-colored breech clout with the ocelot head; nochpalmaxtlatl, ocelotzontecoio
The ocelot breech clout with a step design; ocelotxicalcoliuhquj maxtlatl,
The coyote fur [breech clout] with the eagle head;[25] quauhtzontecoio,
The breech clout with feathered discs at the ends; acaiujtemalacaio maxtlatl,
The breech clout with radiating embroidery at the ends. acatlamachmoiaoac maxtlatl.

19. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 257; IV, p. 257.
20. *Vevej tilmatli pepechtli; quachpepechtli*: cf. Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), Spanish-Nahuatl section—*alfombra, colchon.*
21. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 97, reads *yaoc* for *aoc*.
22. Cf. Spanish text, fol. 16*v*.
23. The *Florentine Codex* omits *cepoalxomaxtlatl* before *quauhtzontecoio*, found in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS.

[p. 26 is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Astec NU7

565
262

Thirteenth Chapter. Here are told the foods which the lords ate.[1]

Hot, white, doubled tortillas;[2] large tortillas; large, thick, coarse tortillas; folded tortillas[3] of maize treated with lime, pleasing [to the taste]; tortillas formed in rolls; leaf-shaped tortillas;

White tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top;[4] white tamales with maize grains thrown in;[4] hard, white tamales with grains of maize thrown in; red tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top; tamales made of a dough of maize softened in lime, with beans forming a sea shell on top; tamales of maize softened in wood ashes; turkey pasty cooked in a pot, or sprinkled with seeds; tamales of meat cooked with maize and yellow chili; roast turkey hen; roast quail.

Market food: white tortillas with a flour of uncooked beans; turkey with a sauce of small chilis, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; turkey with red chilis; turkey with yellow chilis; turkey with green chilis; venison sprinkled with seeds; hare with sauce; rabbit with sauce; meat stewed with maize, red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; venison with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; birds with toasted maize; small birds; dried duck; duck stewed in a pot; the *atzitzicuilotl* bird stewed in a pot; roast of meat; fried meat in a sauce of red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; pottage of yellow chili; sauces of ordinary tomatoes and small tomatoes and yellow chili, or of tomatoes and green chili; diluted [sauces] with tomatoes; white fish with yellow chili; grey fish with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; frog with green chilis; newt with yellow chili; tadpoles with small chilis; small fish with small chilis; winged ants with savory

Ic matlactli vnej capítulo: vncan mjtoa, in jntlaqual in qujquaia, in tlatoque.

Iztac totonquj tlaxcalli, tlacuelpacholli, vei tlaxcalli quauhtlaqualli, tlaxcalpacholli iztac, nexiopapaio, tlaxcalmjmjlli, tlacepoalli tlaxcalli,

quatecujcujlli tamalli, iztac tlatzincujtl, iztac tetamalli tlatzincujtl, chichiltic quatecujcujlli tamalli, nexiotamalli quatecujcujlli, tamalatl quauhnextli, totolnacaqujmjlli xocco tlapaoaxtli, anoço tlatentli, nacatlaoio tamalli chilconio: ciboatotoli tlatleoatzalli, çolin tlatleoatzalli,

tianqujztlaqualli, iztac tlaxcalli etica tlaoio, totolin patzcalmolli, chiltecpiio, totolin, chilconio totolin, chilchoio totolin, maçanacatl tlatentli, citli molli, tochtli molli, nacatlaolli patzcallo, maçanacatl patzcallo, totoizqujtl tepitoton totome, canauhtlaoatzalli, canauhtlapaoaxtli, atzitzicujlotlapaoaxtli, nacatlacetli, tlatetzoionjlli nacamolli patzcallo, chilconxlatonjlli, chiltecpinmolli xitomaio, chilconmolli xitomaio, chilchomolli xitomaio, tlamamollalli xitomaio, iztac amjlotl chilconio, tomaoac xoujli, patzcallo, cujatl chilchoio, axolotl chilconio, atepocatl chiltecpiio, mjchpili chiltecpijo, tzicatanatli inamjc papaloqujlitl, chapolin chichiaoa, meocujli chiltecpinmollo, chacali patzcallo, topotlimjchi patzcallo, tlacamjchin patzcallo, maçaxocoenolli iztac mjchio

1. Sahagún's Spanish sometimes varies somewhat from dictionary and other definitions of the foods named in the Aztec text. In the main, our translation favors Sahagún's; footnotes take account of the most noticeable variations.

2. *Tlaxcalpacholli, tlacuelpacholli*: hot, white tortillas, doubled, arranged in a large basket, according to the corresponding Spanish text. In Molina, *op. cit.*, the word means "*cosa doblada, o plegada.*"—If the root of *-pacholli* is *pachoa*, the term could indicate that the tortillas were covered, or could refer to the way they were beaten out. See also note 3, *infra*.

3. In Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 367, Dr. Ignacio Alvarez translates *quatecujcujlli tamali patzcalmolli inamic in Tamales de carnaval cocinos y unos empringados juntos*. Alvaro Tezozomoc, in *Histoire du Mexique* (tr. Tornaux-Compans; Paris: P. Jann, 1853), I, p. 269, has this explanation: "*les mets appelés quatequiuil-tamalli, bouy-tlaxcalli* [bouxy tlaxcalli?), *tlaxcal-pacholli, grands gâteaux de farine de fève et de farine de maïs qui sont deux pains d'épaisseur, ainsi que tout sujet d'aliment et de gâteau.*"

4. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.*

565
262

herbs;[5] locusts with chia; maguey grubs with a sauce of small chilis; lobster with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; sardines[6] with red chili, tomatoes, and ground squash seeds; large fish with the same; a sauce of unripened plums with white fish;

tlatlauhquj teçontzapotl izochiquil maçazocotl chichiltic, coztic, tlaxtalcoaltic, cheiotzapotl, xicotzapotl, quauhcamotli, camotli, aoacatl, aztatzapotl, nochtli, tlatlatlapalpoalli, iztac, coztic, chichiltic, zozoctic, camopaltic, matzatli, quammochil, capoli, xilotl, elotl, exotl,

Red, rough sapotas;[7] red plums; yellow or vermilion plums; ashen sapotas;[8] small sapotas;[9] manioc;[10] sweet potato; avocado; yellow sapotas;[11] tuna cactus fruit of many hues—white, yellow, bright red, green, orange; anonas;[12] *guanábanas;*[13] American cherries; tender maize;[14] green maize; string beans;

mjiaoxtamalli tlaixnamjctilli ouhtli ioan capoli, elotlaxcalli, anoço xantlaxcalli, xilotlaxcalli, ouhqujltamalli, necutlaxcalli, nochtlaxcalli, necutamalli, queçeoatlaxcalli, tzoallaxcalli, tzoalli, tochizqujtl, aiotlatlapanalli, olchicalli, elotl tlapaoaztli tlaoztzalli, ouhqujlmolli tonalchillo, itzmjqujlmolli, tonalchillo, ouhtzontli tonalchillo,

Tamales made of maize flowers with ground amaranth seed and cherries added; tortillas of green maize or of tender maize; tamales stuffed with amaranth greens;[15] tortillas made with honey, or with tuna cactus fruit; tamales made with honey; tortillas shaped like hip guards; tamales made of amaranth seed dough; [cakes made of] amaranth seed dough; rabbit with toasted maize; squash cut in pieces; *olchicalli;* green maize cooked in a pot and dried; amaranth greens cooked with dry land chili; sauce of purslain with dry land chili; green amaranth seeds with dry land chili;

tzaianalqujlitl, xonacatl, hijacaqujlitl, eloqujlitl, moçoqujlitl, nacaztochqujlitl, achochoqujlitl, ujtzqujlitl, chichicaquilitl, iztac xoxocoioli, xoxocoiolujujlan, axoxoco acujtlacpalli, aioxochqujlitl, aionanacatl, aioiacaqujlitl, aiotepitoton, mexixqujlitl, popoiauhqujlitl, nopaltepitoton mjchiteuhio,

Water greens; onions;[16] the evil-smelling herb; the *eloquilite* herb;[17] the *mozote* herb;[18] rabbit-ear greens; *achochoquilit;*[19] thistle; sow thistle; sorrel of various kinds; a water-edge plant called *acuilacpalli;* squash flowers; tender, young squash; small squash; garden cress; *raphanos;* small tuna cactus fruit with fish eggs;

---

5. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 746, this is *Pseudophilinus macrocephalus* DC.

6. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, p. 194) says of *tepoli*: *"son pardillos crían en los manantiales, son buenos de comer y sabrosos."*

7. Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 274: *Lucuma mammosa* Gaertn. Cf. also Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 314—*"mamapapa o zapotecolcuda que es el verdadero tzapotl."* Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, p. 225) describes the mamapapel as *"de hechura y grandor del corazón de carnero: tienen la corteza áspera y roja, son colorados por de dentro, son muy dulces y muy buenos de comer, y tienen los cuescos negros muy lisos y relucientes."* Cf. *tzapotes* in Molina, *op. cit.*: *"hazer cuescos algunas cosas."*

8. *"Son los amarillos"* (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 225); also corresponding Spanish text.

9. *"Llamanlos los españoles, y portugueses* [*wild or chalo pear tree*]*. Son muy dulces, hácense en varios colores"* (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 224). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 273, this is *Achras sapota* L.

10. *Ibid.*, II, p. 525: *Manihot aipendrum* Crantz; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 335: *guacamotes or camotes. Manihot utilissima* Pohl; in *ibid.*, p. 327, *"las raíces de estas árboles cuécense y hácense como batatas, y son de buen comer."*

11. Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 267 (*misspelled*): *Lucuma salicifolia* Kunth; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 224: *"son amarillos de dentro y de fuera: son muy dulces, tienen a manera de penca de hueso cuando, tienen cuescos de color castaño oscuro."*

12. *Annona squamosa, guanaba cimarrilla*, in Sandoval, *op. cit.*; Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 260: *Annona cairica*, Schult.; *Annona cherimola*.

13. Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 759; *Pithecellobium dulce* (Roxb.) Benth.; cf. also Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 52 (*Guamúchil*).

14. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.* Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 149; *"Maíces: Cabellitos de la mazorca de maíz tierno."*

15. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, I, p. 12; II, p. 154; *op. cit.*, I, p. 12, n. 66 (*xuauhquilitl*).

See also Jonathan D. Sauer: "The Grain Amaranths: A Survey of Their History and Classification," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden*, 37: 561-632 (Nov., 1950), where it is suggested that cuauhtli may refer to either the chenopods or amaranths (p. 564).

16. *Allium* sp., in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

17. *Rubbia pilosa* L.—*el de milpa* (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 339). See also Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 337.

18. Mozote in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 318. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 334, has *"Yerba del Ángel,* Eupatorium dalea[ianum]. *Inu. Compuesta"*; *quauhtlequetl* is the same.

19. Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 361: *Rubus chrysanthemifolius* Michx.; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 339: *Rubus coriifolius* D. C.

Rats with sauce; hot maize gruel of many kinds; maize gruel with honey, with chili and honey, with yellow chili; white, thick gruel with a scattering of maize grains; sour, white maize gruel; sour, red maize gruel with fruit and chili; small, green tomatoes[20] with a maize gruel made with anonas; maize gruel made with amaranth and toasted maize; maize gruel with fish-amaranth seeds and honey; cold maize gruel; maize gruel with wrinkled chía,[21] covered with green chilis or small, hot chilis;[22] white maize gruel with chía,[23] covered with yellow chilis; maize gruel with chía, covered with squash seeds and with chili; maize gruel made of tortilla crumbs, and with ordinary and wrinkled chía, covered with small chilis.

toçanmolli, totonquj atolli, mjiec tlamantli, nequatolli, chilnequatolli, chilcoxio, quauhnexatolli tlatzincujtl, iztac xocoatolli, chichiltic, chilxocoatolli, mjhtomatl inamjc cheiouatolli, ouuhatolli izqujo, mjchioauatoll[21] necuio, itztic atolli, chiantzotzolatolli, chilchopanj, anoço chiltecpinpanj, iztac chianatolli chilcoxpanj, chianpitzaoac atolli, aiohoachpanj chillo, tlaçiocuepalatolli chiantzotzollo, ioan chianio chiltecpinpanj

565 ●
262

All these foods came forth from within the house of the ruler.

in jxqujch tlamantli, y, tlaqualli icalitic, calquixa tlatoanj.

643

And daily a man, the majordomo, set out for the ruler his food—two thousand kinds of various foods; hot tortillas, white tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top; red tamales; the main meal of roll-shaped tortillas and many [foods]: sauces with turkeys, quail, venison, rabbit, hare, rat, lobster, small fish, large fish; then all [manner of] sweet fruits.

Auh in momoztlae, ice tlacatl calpixqui quitequjlia in tlatoanj, in jtlaqual macujltzontli in nepapan tlaqualli, in totonquj tlaxcalli in jztac quatecujcujlli in chichiltic tamalli, in vej tlaqualli, tlaxcalmjmjlli: ioan cenca mjiec tlamantli in jmollo in jvical in totoli, çolli, maçanacatl, tochi, çitli, tuçan, chacali, topotli, tlacamjchin, njman iee in jxqujch necutic xochiqualli.

[644]
262

And when the ruler had eaten, then all the food was divided. Apart, in the city, the lords ate, and all the people from surrounding lands—the ambassadors, the war messengers, the princes, the judges, the high priests, the seasoned warriors, the valiant men of war, the masters of the youths, the rulers of the youths, the keepers of the gods, the priests, the singers, [the ruler's] pages, his servants, his jugglers, and the various artisans, goldsmiths, feather workers, cutters of precious stones, setters of mosaic, sandal makers, and turquoise cutters.[24]

Auh in jquac in otlaqua tlatoanj, njman ic motexcoloa, in jxqujch tlaqualli: nononqua tlaqua in altepetl ipan tlatoque, ioan in jxquich cemanaoacatl in tlatocatitlanti, in moiautitlâque, in tlaçopipilti, in tecutlatoque, achcacauhti, tequjoxque, tiacahoan, tiachcahoan, telpuchtlatoque teupixque, tlamacazque, cujcanjme, in quezquitlamantli, izoloa, iiahachhoan, tetlauetzquitjque: ioan nepapan toltecatl, teucujtlapixque, amanteca, tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, cacçoque, teuxinque.

264
[645]
163
565

Then, in his house, the ruler was served his chocolate, with which he finished [his repast]—green, made of tender cacao; honeyed chocolate made with ground-up dried flowers—with green vanilla pods; bright red chocolate; orange-colored chocolate; rose-colored chocolate; black chocolate; white chocolate.[25]

Njman moteca in jcalitic: iecauj in jcacaoauh, xoxouhquj cacaoçintli, quauhnecujo cacaoatl, xochiocacaoatl, xoxouhquj tlilxochio, chichiltic cacaoatl, vitztecolcacaoatl, xochipalcacaoatl, tiltic cacaoatl, iztac cacaoatl

643
264
272

20. *Ibid.*, p. 237; small tomatoes; Ramírez, *op. cit.*, green; Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 69?: "*las mas chicas redondas, se dicen, de tomates.*"

21. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 364: "*Chia arrugada. Salvia spp.*" Ixtlamaxtla, *op. cit.*, III, p. 66: *Salvia polystachia*. Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 210: *Salvia hispanica* Linn.

22. Ixtlamaxtla, *op. cit.*, I, p. 496: *Capsicum microcarpum* DC.—"*Los Mejicos, chile cuilpetin, creen del tamaño de una pulga y muy picante.*" In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 439, it is identified as *C. frutescens* L., *var. baccatum* L.: "*del tamaño de las aceitunas, o las que parece tener en la pequeñez y en el color.*"

23. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 364: "*Salvia hispánica. L. Salbia*"; Ixtlamaxtla, *op. cit.*, I, p. 488: *Salvia chian, S. hispánica* L.

24. The Spanish text has *barbaros*, which would require *tecolotes*.

25. *Tiltic* and *iztac* are as they appear in the Codex; *chiltic* and *istac* are probably meant.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

692 695 nounced. And in what was there made known, the lords did nothing for friendship's sake; they exacted nothing as reward; nor delayed [any case].

vncan caquitiloia tlatoque atle quicnjuhchioaia atle tlaxtlaujltica quixpachoaia, anoço quiuecaoaia.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the court, the place of discussion, where spoke the judges.

[693] Teccalli,[5] or Teccalco: there were the judges and noblemen.[6] Every day the common folk and vassals laid complaints before them. Calmly and prudently [212] they heard the plaints of the vassals; in the picture writing which recorded the case, they studied the complaints. And when they tested their truth, they sought out and inquired of informers and witnesses who could size up the plaintiffs, [who knew] what had been stolen and what was charged.

INJC VME PARRAPHO, itechpa tlatoa in motecnçia in tlatoloian in vncan tlatoaia tecutlatoque.

Teccalli, teccalco, vncan catca in tecutlatoque, in tetecuti, in momuztlac imixpan motelhuiaia, cujtlapilli atlapalli maçeoalli, iujian iocuxca, in quicaquia in jnneteilhuil maçeoalli: tlapallacujlolpan in quipoaia, in quittaia neteilhujlli: auh injc quinnelhtiloia, quinterooaia, quimjtlanja in machiceoque, in tlanelhilanj, in quimachilia motelhuique, in tlein quimocujcujlia, in tlein ipan motelhuja.

687 And the ruler, if he knew anything ill of these judges—perhaps that they needlessly delayed the case of common folk, that they deliberated two years or even four—[that] they could not pronounce judgment because of either a bribe or kinship,—he then seized them and jailed them in wooden cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them, so that the judges might walk in dread.

Auh in tlatoani, intla itla quinmachili in ichoantin tecutlatoque, aço çã tlapic quiuecaoa, in jneteilhuil cujtlapilli, atlapalli, aço ie umuptl, anoço ie nauhxiuptl quinoemjtia in amo uel quiztoneuj, aço çan ipampa tlaxtlaujlli, anoço hoxiolcaiotl: njman quimjlpia, quauhcalco quimtlalia, quiztzacutiuj, quimjctia, injc nauhca ieaque tecutlatoque.

[When] Moctezuma was lord, he learned many ill things of the judges Mixcoatlailotlac, Teicnotlamachti, Tlacochcalcatl, Itzlaca mixcoatlailotlac, Umaca, Toquai. Uictlolinqui, [all] of Tlatilulco—that they had unjustly discharged their office of judge. Then he seized them, jailed them in wooden cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them.

Tlatecati motecuçuma, mjec tlamantli in quinmachili tecutlatoque mjxcoatlailotlac teicnotlamachti, tlacochcalcatl, itzlaca mjxcoatlailotlac vmaca, toquai, victlolinqui, tlatilulco in amo melauac quichioua in jntequjuh tecutlatolli: njman quimjlpi, quauhcalco quimtlali, quiztzacutiaque, quinmicti.

692 565 684 THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described the place of discussion where were the brave warriors and the noblemen.

INJC EI PARRAPHO: vncan nijtoa in tlatoloian, in vncan catca in tiacauan, ioan in pipilti.

Tecpilcalli: there were [to be found] and were established the noblemen, the brave warriors,[7] the valiant men, wise in war. If the ruler knew something ill of some nobleman—although he were a great prince,[8] or brave warrior—if he had committed adultery, then he sentenced him to be stoned before the people, to die stoned.

Tecpilcalli, vncan catca, vncan tecpanoaia in pipilti, tiacahoan oquichti, in iauc matinj, in tlatoanj intla aca itla quimachili pilli, in manel cenca tlaçopilli tiacauh intla otetlaxtin, njman quitlatzontequjlia, injc teixpan tetepachoio tetica mjquj

[When] Moctezuma was lord, one who was a prince, named Uitznauatl ecamalacotl, committed

motecuçuma tlatocati, ce tlacatl tlaçopilli itoca vitznauatl ecamalacotl tetlaxi in oconteixpanique in-

5. Ichapin, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to all of these places as "another hall"—"otra sala."

6. Manuel Orozco y Berra, in *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (México: Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), I, p. 367, explains that "*En cada barrio de México había un tecalli, clase estudiantesca por los sacerdotes; determinados de ciertas lecciones, donde cuentan diariamente á los jueces superiores.*" Clark, *Loc. cit.*, I, p. 97) writes: "The four round figures behind the judges, called *tecali*, are young men of rank who attend the courts for instruction, so that in time they might rise to the position of judge." (See also fl. 47r and 68r of the Mendoza Codex.)

7. *Tecanoā, pilli, nopilli*: cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 26; Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 68.

8. *Tlaçopilli*: cf. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

adultery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequiuacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command in war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhnochtli, Atempanecatl, and Tezcacoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair; and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the fire priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their houses; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

pan motecuçuma, njman qujoallatzontequjli, injc teixpan tetepacholoc.

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnnenonotzaia in tiacahoan in jpampa iaujotl.

Tequjoacacalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneixcaujl iautequj:

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacauhti in tiacahoan in jtemjcticaoan catca tlatoanj, iehoantin qujtzonquixtiaia in aquin tlein ipan omotzontec, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl, tezcacoacatl, auh in jtla qujtlacoaia, qujtzacutiuja mjquja.

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiachcahoan, in telpuchtlatoque vncan tlatecpanoia injc qujchiaia tlein tequjtl, auh in momuztlac, in jquac ie calaquj tonatiuh: tlamaçeoaliztli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtiuja, injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanooaia çanijo inquech in onactiuja, iuhqujn matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaztaxel conmantiuj, tochacatl injc quilpia intzonchichilicpatl: ioan ixiuhnacoch, ioan intempilol eptli, iaqujch in telpuchtli in oncujcoanoia icoac necaoaloia in tlaquauh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcan tlapitzaia tlenamacaque tlamacazque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in noujian telpuchcalli mamanca: in oncan cochia, çan pepetlauhtoca, çan achi ih concochia, momoztlac in ce ioboan qujça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj.

Auh in jcoac itla qujnmachilia in tlatoanj, aço tlaoanaliztli, anoço nemecatilitztli, anoço itla icampa qujqujxtia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla qujtetequjtia in calla aço atl, tlaqualli tequjpan iecauj, moiocoia, qujtetequjtia injc intech monequj, njman tlavaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujntlatzontequjlia, injc qujtzacutiui, aço qujnmecanja, anoço qujntetecpachoa, anoço quauhtica qujnujujtequj teixpan, injc mjctiko, injc maujztli qujteca tlatoanj.

9. Thunderbolts, drummers: see Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 27; Jara, op. cit., p. 79; Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 102, n. 3; III, pp. 57-58.
10. After consummation, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has amoyo achcauhtzinco—or adultery.

561 681 them with a cord, or they stoned them, or before the people they beat them with wooden [staves], so that they were slain. Thus the ruler implanted fear.[11]

251 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, where is told how they stored all the food.

Petlacalco: there was stored all the food. Dried maize grains thus were kept in wooden grain bins; more than two thousand [measures of] grains of dried maize—a store of twenty years for the city. And in wooden storage bins were dried beans, chía, amaranth seeds, wrinkled chía, salt jars, coarse salt, baskets of chilis, baskets of squash seeds, and large squash seeds. And there was kept the jail, the [497] wooden cage,[12] where they imprisoned and confined evildoers.

IC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa injc quipiaia in jxquich qualonj.

Petlacalco, vncan mopiaia, in jxquich qualonj, in tlaolli, injc mopiaia quauhquezcomatl, amo çan macujltzontli, vncatca tlaolli: cempoalxiuhcaiod, in jtetzon altepetl, ioan quauhcuezcontica mamanca in etl, in chian, in ouuhtli, in chiantzotzol, iztacomjtl, iztaxalli, chilpetlatl, aiooachpetlatl, quauhaiooachtli: ioan vncan mopiaia in teilpilcalli, quauhcalli, in vncan quimjlpiaia, quinçaltzaquaia tlatlacoanj.

624 651 681 344 SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the house of the majordomos and stewards.

Calpixcalli[13] or Texancalli: there assembled all the majordomos and tribute gatherers. There they were lodged [to await the command of the ruler, (lest) he require something, or] to bring down and put in order that which was their trust as tributes, [and there they arranged in order the various foods] which every day they gave the ruler. And if the ruler knew something ill of a majordomo, perchance of something he stole from the tributes; or that all his charge, the tributes, perhaps did not equal the correct count when all his store was tallied and examined; then he jailed the majordomo in a wooden cage; he exacted the penalty, that he die. Then he cast out his women [and his children from his home]. Then quickly the house of the majordomo was closed up, and all his goods remained in the house. All belonged to the ruler.

IC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO, vncā mjtoa: in jnchan mayordomos in calpixque.

Calpixcalli, texancalli, vncā cenquiçaia: in jxquich calpixquj, ioan tequjtquj, vncan tecpanoaia injc [quitlatolchixticatca tlatoani, aço tlein quinequiz, aço] tlein qujtemoz qujcencauhticatca, in tlein inpiel tlacalaqujlli: [yoan uncan quicenquixtiaya y nepapan tlaqualli,] in momoztlae qujmacaia tlatoanj. Auh intla tlatoínj, itla qujmachili, ce calpixquj, aço itla qujnaoalchioa tlacalaqujlli: ioan in jxquich in jpiel, in tlacalaqujlli: acaçomo caçi in tlapoaliztli: in jcoac mopoa, mocxitoca, in jxquich in jpiel; njman quauhcalco qujtlalia, in calpixquj: qujtzacutiuh, mjquj, njman quinquixtia, in jçioahoan [yoan in ipilhoan yn ichan]: njman içiuhca motzaqua, in jcal calpixquj ioan in jxquich in jtlatquj, calitic onoc: moch itech compoā tlatoanj.

565 574 431 344 Coacalli: there were established all the lords from everywhere—friends of the ruler, and all the lords unfriendly to him. He gave and bestowed upon them all manner of costly goods: valuable capes and breech clouts, golden lip plugs, golden ear plugs, green stone lip plugs, green stone necklaces, and green stone bracelets.

Coacalli vncan tecpanoaia, in jxquichtin, noujian tlatoque: in jicnjhoan tlatoanj, ioan in jxquichtin, iiauhoan tlatoque: qujnmacaia, qujntlauhtiaia, in jxquich tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in teucujtlatentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in chalchiuhtentetl, in chalchiuhcozcatl, in chalchiuhmacuextli.

---

11. At the end of this paragraph, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS contains an account of the Coliseum, which is lacking in the *Florentine Codex*. (See Appendix A.)

12. *Teilpilcalli, quauhcalli*: Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 288-289, writes: "*Las prisiones eran de dos especies. La llamada teilpilcayan, lugar de presos, es que estaban destinados los delincuentes de poca leve; el cuauhcalli, casa de madera, especie de jaula, fuerte de vigas, en que se guardaba los condenados á la muerte y prisioneros de guerra destinados al sacrificio.*"

13. In the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, three passages appear which are not in the *Florentine Codex*. Because they change the order to a degree, they are here inserted in brackets.

728 651 which was there made. And likewise, forthwith a steward was placed in office, who would watch over and levy the tribute.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is described how they chose judges.

643 693 565 The ruler watched especially over the trials; he heard all the accusations and the complaints, the afflictions, and the misery of the common folk, the orphans, the poor, and the vassals.

And in order that the ruler might verify one's accusations and guilt, there were placed in office, and [the ruler] chose, as his judges,[5] the princes, those who were endowed with the necessities of life, those provided with drink and food—the rich; and the brave warriors and men [at arms], who had been reared in war and had gloried in all kinds of suffering and misery. In all things had their upbringing, their rearing, been sound. In their infancy they had been taught [according to] the upbringing in the priests' house, or the rearing by the masters of the youths, growing up with others, living in the [same] houses as others, engaging in war, taking captives.

And likewise the ruler thus chose and placed in office judges of the Mexicans who were not noblemen—those of sound and righteous upbringing, who had been reared in war: brave warriors and men [at arms] who in many ways had won glory by the favor of the ruler. By his grace they drank and ate. He gave them contentment and he gave them gifts; he bestowed upon them whatsoever they needed.

[577] Such as these the ruler gave office and chose as his judges—the wise, the able, the sage; who listened and spoke well; who were of good memory; who spoke not vainly nor lightly; who did not make friends without forethought nor were drunkards; who guarded their lineage with honor; who slept not overmuch, [but rather] arose early; who did nothing for friendship's or kinship's sake, nor for enmity; who would not hear nor judge a case for [681] a fee. The ruler might condemn them to death; hence they performed their offices as judges righteously. For otherwise, these judges could find excuse for the wrongs which they might do.

And when the ruler placed his judges in office, he gave them two court rooms, the Teccalli, where they

tzalo in calpixquj, in quimocujtlaujz, in jpan tlatoz in tlacalaquijlli.

INJC VME PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn quinpepenaia lueres.

In tlatoanj oc cenca quimocujtlaujaia in tetlatzontequjlilizti, quicaquja in jxquich in jnetcilhujl: ioan in jchoquiz, in jnentlamachiliz in jnetolinjliz in cujtlapilli, atlapalli in jcnotlacatl, in motolinja in maçeoalli:

auh injc uel quinelitilaia in tlatoanj in tenteilhujl anoço tetlatlacul quimjxquetzaia, quinpepenaia in jtecutlatocahoan: ichoantin in tlaçopipilti, in tlaiecultilo in oncā in qujnj, in qujquanj, in mocujltonoa, ioan tiacoan, oquichti, in iauc omoncaltique, mjiec tlamātli tecoco netolinjlizti, oquimaujçoque: auh in jxquj tlamantlj qualli neoapaoaliztli, nezcaltilizti, in jnpiltian oquimomachtique, in calmecac neoapaoaliztli, in tiachcapa neoapaoaliztli, in tetlan neoapaoaliztli, in calpan tetlan nemjlizti, iauquiçalizti, tlamaliztli.

Auh çan no iuhq̄ⁿ, injc quinpepenaia tlatoanj, inic quimjxquetzaia in tecutlatoque, in mexica, in amo pipilti ichoantin in qualli ieetli, inneoapaoaliz, innezcaltiliz, in iauc omoeapaouhque, in tiacahoan in oquichti, in mjiec tlamantli oquimaujçoque, iteicneliliz tlatoanj, in jpal atli, tlaqua, in quinpaquiltia, in quintlauhtia, ioan in quinmaca, in jxquich intech monequj:

iuhque in in quimjxquetzaia, in quinpepenaia tlatoanj, in jtecutlatocahoan, in mjmatinj, in mozcalianj, in tlanemjlianj, in vellacaquj, in vellatoa, in motlaiollotianj, in amo ahaujllatoa, in amo cacamanaloa, in amo iliujz moocnjuhtia, amo tlaoananj, cenca quimauizpia in tecuiotl, amo cochinj, cenca cochiçanj amo tle quicnjuhchioa: amo tle quioaiolcachioa: amo tle quitecocolicachioa, amo tlaxtlaujltica quicaquj, anoço quitzontequj: quimjxquiznoatiaia, in tlatoanj: injc melaoac quichioaxque in jntequjuh, in tecutlatollj: auh intlacamo, ca ichoantin conmotzacujlitiaxque in tecutlatoque, in tlein quitlacaxque.

Auh in jcoac, oquinjxquetx in tlatoanj: in jtecutlatocahoan quinmacaia vntetl in tlatocacalli, in tec-

5. Jurisdictional: cf. *ibid.*, p. 318 (for majores jueces) and p. 321 (consejeros).

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

were to remain, to make judgments, and to hear all manner of testimony.

The name of one Teccalli was Tlacxitlan. There they tried princes and great lords. At once, swiftly, they passed judgment on their complaints or wrong doing.

And the second place where justice was done was named Teccalli. There were the Mexican judges. Sagely they heard the complaints of the common folk. They defined and verified the complaint, they recorded it in paintings so that they might take it there to Tlacxitlan, where they informed the judges who were princes, so that their judgment might be pronounced.

And if something was difficult, they took it to the ruler so that he might judge it [with] those judges[6] whose names were Ciuacoatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Vitznauatlailotlac, Ticociauacatl, Pochtecatlailotlac, Ezuauacatl,[7] Mexicatl tezcacoacatl, Acatliacapanecatl, Milnauatl, Atlauhcatl, Ticociauacatl, Ciuatecpanecatl, and Tequixquinaoacatl. These same judges meditated and pondered upon, and examined, the testimony. They sought out the witnesses, those who bore testimony. Perchance [the charge] was true; or else that which the ruler had heard was false, so that, perhaps, by error[8] someone had been held in jail.

And if the ruler condemned someone to die, then his executioners slew him—the Achcacauhti,[9] the Quauhnochtli, and the Atempanecatl. Thus did these slay him: with a cord they strangled the evildoer, or they stoned him before the people, or they cut him to pieces.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described how all were to dance.

The ruler was greatly concerned with the dance, the rejoicing, in order to hearten and console all the peers, the lords, the noblemen, the brave warriors, and all the common folk and vassals.

First the ruler announced what song should be intoned. He commanded the singers to rehearse and practise the song and [to prepare] the two-toned calli, in vncan ieuque, in vncã tetlatzontequiliuque, 643
in vncan quicaquizque in ixquich tlamãtli tlacatlatolli, 693
in centetl teccalli, itoca tlacxitlan, in vncã tetlatzontequiliuia tlaçopipilti, tlatocapipilti, çan nimã içiuhca quiztzontequja inteneteilhuil, anoço tetlatlacul. 565 [344]

Auh inic vccan tecutlatoloia, itoca teccalli, vncan 693
catca in tecutlatoque mexica: iuian iocuxca quicaquja, in jneteilhuil cuitlapilli, atlapalli, in oquichipauhque, in oquiectilique neteilhujlli, tlapallacujlolpan quitlalia, inic vmpa quitquj tlacxitlan in jpã quintlapoujlia in tecutlatoque in tlaçopipilti, inic vmpa motzontequj. [344] 565 695 [212]

Auh intla itla oujlitica iuic quitquj in tlatoanj inic 695
iehoanti quiztzontequj in jntoca catca tecutlatoque. 643
Çioacoatl tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac, ticociaocatl, pochteca tlailotlac, ezoaoacatl, mexicatl tezcacoacatl, acatliacapanecatl, mjlnaoatl, atlauhcatl, ticociaoacatl, çiuatecpanecatl, tequixquinaoacatl, iehoantin, y, in tecutlaxoque quinemjliaia, quichiquja, quipetlaoaia in tlacatlatolli, quintemoaia in machicoque, in tlanelhilianj, in aço ie nelli, anoço tlatolchichioalli in caquitilo tlatoanj, in aço can tlapic aca quauhcalco otlaliloc.

Auh intla aca quitlatzontequjlia tlatoanj mjquiz, 693
nimã quimjctia, in itemjcticaoan achcacauhti, 696
quauhnochtli, atempanecatl: inic iehoantin quimjctia, quimecanja in tlatlacoanj, anoço teixpan quitetepachoa, anoço quitetequj.

INIC EI PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa in quenjn 535
netotiloz. 643

In tlatoanj oc cenca quimocuitlaujaia, in maçeualiztli, in papaqujliztli, inic quimellaquaoa, inic quiniollalia, in ixquichtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, ioan tetecuti, ioan tiacahoan: ioan in ixquich in cuitlapilli, atlapalli, in maçeualli:

acheopa quitoaia in tlatoanj, in tlein cuicatl mecoaz, 643
quinnaoatilia in cujcanjme: inic quiiehecoaque inic 533
quichicaoaque in cujcatl, ioan teponaztli, olmaitl, 534

6. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Y los unos, unos diferentes, y graues, llamandos al vltimo: para que los entendiesse juntamente con todos principales, unos calificados, que eran el ordinario, y comun."

7. After the word pochtecatlailotlac, the Real Academia de la Historia MS includes ezoaoacatlailotlac; ezoaoacatl appears as ejuaoacatl. This title Tlaxitlanecatl is repeated in the Aztec text of the Florentine Codex.

8. Can chapir: pan is probably ignored (cf. ibid.).

9. Achcacauhti: cf. Sahagún, op. cit., I, pp. 166, 294, 295; II, pp. 318, 321; also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 180, and III, p. 53.

643 drums, the rubber drum hammers, and the ground
533 drums, and all the properties used in the dance. And
534 [he appointed the kind of] dance, him who would give the pitch, those who would lead, him who would beat the two-toned drum, him who would play the ground drum. All was first arranged, so that nothing would be left out.

643 And when there was a dance, the ruler [decided]
535 the day. At this time, he adorned and arrayed him-
292 self, [in his] head band with sprays of quetzal
301 feathers and gold, with which he bound his hair; a yellow labret, or a green stone lip plug, which he inserted in his [lower] lip; golden ear plugs, which he inserted in [the lobes of] his ears; and he laid on a neck band, either a neck band of green stone or a collar with turquoise inserted; he placed on his wrist a bracelet with a large green stone upon it, or a large turquoise; or a golden arm band; and a quetzal feather fan. With [these] costly goods he went in procession and danced. With a priceless cape he covered and wrapped himself, and in a costly breech clout he girt himself.

565 Then also they arrayed and accorded favors to all
535 the lords, and noblemen, the men [at arms], brave warriors, and the high judges, and the [lesser] judges, and brave warriors, men [at arms], and masters of the youths, and singers. And the ruler gave them drink and food, all the things which have been mentioned.

687 And if the singers did something amiss—perchance a two-toned drum was out of tune, or a ground drum; or he who intoned, marred the song; or the leader marred the dance—then the ruler commanded that they place in jail whoever had done the wrong; they imprisoned him, and he died.

643 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how
726 he who was the ruler kept vigil; how he kept guard at night and all day, because of war.

The ruler was especially concerned with the keeping of watch against enemies and the guarding of the city, all day and all night. Hence he gave stern commands that guard should be kept faithfully. For at times, suddenly, the City of Mexico was circled by foes; perchance somewhere for this they were gathered together, and were laying a snare. Therefore the ruler kept careful vigil. He did not become besotted. He himself sometimes set forth by night, circled the city, and beheld what was done: perhaps the priest

vesetl: ioan in ixquich maçeoallaqujtl, ioan netotiliztli, aquin cujcaitoa, aqujque in teiacanaaque, aquin teponaçoa, aquin veuetzoaz, mochi achto mocencaoaia injc atle itlacauja.

Auh in ie iconac maçeoa tlatoanj, in tlein ilhujtl ipan mocencaoa, mochichioa quetzallalpilonj coztic teucujtlaio, injc quiljpia itzon, coztic teçacatl, anoço chalchiuhtentetl in conaquja itenco, coztic teucujtlanacochtli, in caquja inacazco: auh in cozcatl conteca, aço chalchiuhcoxcatl, anoço coxcapetlatl, teuxiujtl itlaactoc, macuextli imac qujtlalia vei chalchiujtl ipan ca anoço vej teuxiujtl, anoço coztic teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalcaccaoaztli, tlaçotlanquj injc mjtoaia injc macoa, tlaçotilmatli in quimololoa, in quimoquentia, tlaçomaxtlatl in quimomaxtlatia,

njman ic no qujcencaoa quintlauhtia: in ixquichtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, in oquichti, tiiacaoan, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tiiacaoan oquichtin, ioan tiachcaoan, ioan cujcanjme, ioan quinmaca in jiauh, in jtlaqual tlatoanj in jxquitlamantin omoteneuhque.

Auh intla itla quitlacoa cujcanjme: aço teponaztli quichalanja, anoço vesetl, anoço cujcaitoa, quipoloa cujcatl: anoço teiacana, in quipoloa netotiliztli: njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco contlalia in aquin tlatlacoa, quitzacutiuh mjquja.

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO: vncā mjtoa injc ixtoçoaia in aquin tlatoanj, injc tlapiaia in ioultica: ioan in cemjlhuitl in jpāpa iauiotl.

In tlatoanj oc cenca quimocuitlaujaia in iautlapializtli, ioan altepepializtli, cemjlhuitl cecioal, ic tlatlaquauhnaoatiaia, injc cenca tlapialoa ma quenmanjan atenemachpan iauiaoalolo in altepetl mexico, aço cana ica necentlalilo, tlachichiujlilo, ipampa cenca ixtoçoaia in tlatoanj, amo tlaoanaia, iioma in iohoaltica quenmanjan quiçaia quijiaoaloa in altepetl quitta tlein muchioa, acaçomo tlapia in tlamacazqui in tiachcauh aço ie necujtlaujlo in mjxtl in tlapetl in octli ioan oc cenca quintlaquauhnaoatiaia in tlatoanj

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Astec NU7

565 **Twentieth Chapter, in which is told how they reared the sons of lords and noblemen.**

Ic cempoalli capitulo: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnoapacia in inpilhoan tlatoque, ioan pipilti.

And here is described the rearing of the sons of those who were lords, and of all the princes, who were the sons[1] of lords and noblemen.

Auh njcan mjtoa: in jnneoapaoaliz in ichoantin in tlatoque inpilhoan, ioan in jxqujchtin in tlaçopipilti, in jnpilhoan tlatoque, pipilti.

854 Their mothers and fathers nourished and raised them, or nursemaids raised them while they were 855] still small children.

ichoantin in jnnaoan, in jntaoan qujmjxcaltia, qujnoapaoa, anoço chichioame in qujnoapaoa in oc pipiltotonti:

565 And when they could run, when they were perhaps six years old, thereupon [the boys] went [forth] 855 to play. Their pages—perhaps two, or three—accompanied them that they might amuse them. [The child's] father or mother charged these [pages] that [the boy] not behave ill, that he not taint himself with vice, as he went along the streets.

auh in jcoac ie uel nenemj, aço ie chiquacenxiuhtia, njman ie ic iauh in maaujltiz, in qujnujca ixolooa aço ome anoço ei in caaujltiz, ichoantin qujnocultia in jtatzin in jnantzin injc amo tlauelilocatiz, injc amo qujmocujtlaujz tlauelilocaiotl: in jcoac otli qujtocaz.

565 And also they took great care that he should con-867 verse fittingly with others—that his conversation should be proper; that he should respect and show reverence to others—[when] perchance he somewhere might chance to meet a judge, or a leading militia officer, or a seasoned warrior, or someone of lesser rank; or a revered old man, or a respected old woman; or someone who was poor. He should greet him and bow humbly. He said: "Come hither, my beloved grandfather; let me bow before thee." And the old one who had been greeted then said: "O my beloved grandson, O precious stone, O precious feather, thou has shown me favor. May it go well with thee."

Auh no cenca qujcujtlaujltiaia injc vel tenotzaz, injc qualli iez in jtlatol, injc teimacaçiz, injc temauhcaittaz, aço cana qujnamjqujz aço tecutlato, anoço achcauhtlaiacati, anoço iautequjoa, anoço çan aca tlapaltzintli, anoço veuentzin, anoço ilamatzin, anoço aca motolinja, qujtlapaloz cenca mopechteca, qujlhuja, xioalmoujca noculxine, ma njmjtznotlaxili: auh in ichoatl oqujtlapalo veuentzin njmã qujlhuja notujuhtzine cuzcatle quetzalle otinechmocnelili ma ximonenemjti:

And when the young boy thus saluted others, they praised him highly for it. They rejoiced greatly over it; they were joyful because of it. They said: "How will this beloved child be, if he shall live? He will in sooth be a nobleman. Mayhap his reward will be something [great]."

auh injc iuh tetlapaloa, y, in piltontli, ic cenca qujectenoa, cenca ic papaquj, ic motlamachtia. qujtoa: quenamj ietiuhi in piltzintli intla nemjz ca tel pilli, aço itla imaçeoal iez.

565 And when he was already maybe ten, twelve, or 871 thirteen years old, they placed him in the priests' house; they delivered him into the hands of the fire priests and [other] priests, that he might be reared

Auh in jcoac ie matlacxiuhtia aço ie vmome, anoço ie omej, icoac qujcalaquja in calmecac, inmac qujmoncaoaia in tlenamacaque, in tlamacazque, injc vmpa izcaltiloz nonotzaloz, tlachieltiloz inic vel

1. After *pipiltoton*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has the following, omitted from the *Florentine Codex*: "*Inic mexapoua inic nocuxcaua yn ye ye no yuh in omoloa in tlacatilooh: yuh ic*"—"they were reared and brought up just as hath been told in the [section] on birth."

565 871 there, corrected, and instructed; that he might live an upright life. They constrained him to do the penances, setting fir branches [on the city altars] at night, or there where they went to place the fir branches on mountain tops—there where sacrifices were made at midnight. Or else he entered the song house; they left him in the hands of the masters of the youths. They charged him with the sweeping, or with dancing and song—with all which was concerned with the performance of penances.

565 868 701 And when he was already fifteen years old, then he took up arms; or, reaching twenty years of age, then he went forth to war. First [his parents] summoned those who were seasoned warriors. They gave them to eat and to drink, and they gave gifts to all the seasoned warriors. They gave them large, cotton capes, or carmine colored breech clouts, or capes painted with designs. And then they besought the seasoned warriors; in just the same way as hath been told above, so they entreated them.

And then they took him to the wars. The seasoned warriors went taking great care of him, lest somewhere he might be lost. And they taught him well how to guard himself with a shield; how one fought; how a spear was fended off with a shield. And when a battle was joined, when already there was fighting and perhaps already captives were being taken, they taught him well and made him see how he might take a captive. Perhaps then he took a captive with the aid of others, or he [alone] could take one.[2] For truly it was well seen to that many men become brave warriors.

[202] And when captives were being taken, then at once couriers, of marriageable age, quickly went forth, called victory messengers, who speedily went to inform Moctezuma.

And when the victory messengers had come to arrive, then they quickly entered into the presence of Moctezuma and said to him: "O our lord, O my youth, pay thy debt and thy service [to the god]; for the omen of evil, Uitzilopochtli, hath shown favor and been gracious. For they have pierced the rampart of men dexterous in arms of the city against which they have gone. Into it have marched[3] the Mexicans of Tenochtitlan, the Mexicans of Tlatilulco, the Tepaneca, the Acolhua, the Otomí, the Matlatzinca,

nemja quicujtlaujltia in tlamaceoaliztli, in ioaltica in acxoiatlalilistli içaçocampa acxoiatlalitiuh in tepeticpac, in vmpa onmjcoia ioalnepantla, anoce cujcacali quicalaquja, inmac concaoa in tiachcaoan, quicujtlaujltia in tlachpanaliztli, anoço cuicoianoliztli, in jxquich tlamantli tlamaçeoaliztli mochioaia.

Auh in jcoac ie cxxtolxiuhtia icoac moiaomamachtia anoço açi cempoalxiujtl injc quiça iauc, in iehoantin tequijoaque achtopa quinnotza quintlaqualtia. quimatlitia, ioan quintlauhtia in jxquichtin tequioaque, in quinmaca aço quachtli anoço nochpalmaxtlatl, anoço tlacujlolli in tilmatli. Auh njman quitlatlauhtia in tequioaque, çan ie no iuhquj in omjto tlacpac injc quintlatlauhtia.

Auh njman ic quihujca, in iauc: vel quimocujtlaujtiuj in tequioaque, in ma cana xiccaoalo: auh vel quimachtia, in iuh momana chimalli, in iuh iautioa, in iuh mochimaltopeoa mjtl. Auh in jcoac ie mochioa iauiotl, in ie necalioa, anoce ie tlamalo, uel conittitia, vel contlachieltia, in vmpa tlamaz: aço njmã tepallama, anoço njman vel ic caçi ipampa ca cenca necujtlaujlo ca mjiec tlacatl in jtiacauh mochioa.

Auh in ie tlamalo, njman achtopa oalpeuhtiquiça in tequjtque tlapaliuj, intoca tequjpan titlanti in quioalnonotztiuetzi motecuçuma:

auh in oacico tequjpan titlanti, njman ic hiciuhca calactiuetzi ipan in motecuçuma quilhuja. Totecujoe notelpotzine, ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequitili, ca oicnopiltic, onmaceoaltic, in tetzaujtl in ujtzilobuchtli, ca otepan quitopeuh in quauhtenamjtl, in ocelotenamjtl, ca oia in altepetl: in vmpa tlatlamatitiaque in mexica tenochca, in mexica tlatilulca, in tepanecatl, in aculhoa, in otomjtl, in matlatzincatl, iie ixquich tlalhoacpanecatl in chinampanecatl.

2. *Vel le caui: the Real Academia de la Historia MS has* ce tlac *in.*
3. *Tlatlamatitiaque: Simeón, op. cit.—*darlo muerto*.*

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

and finally all the people of the uplands and those of the swamp lands."[4]

And Moctezuma said to them: "You have tired yourselves; you have suffered affliction, O men dexterous in war. Rest yourselves. [But] perhaps you only fool me. Let me still behold the truth of your account."

And then he confined them. If the report which they had made were not true, Moctezuma jailed them and did away with them

And there in battle was when captives were taken. When it had come to pass that they went against and conquered the city, then the captives were counted, there, in wooden cages: how many had been taken by Tenochtitlan, how many had been taken by Tlatilulco, and by the people of the swamp lands and the people of the dry lands everywhere. The captives were examined [to determine] how many groups of four hundred were formed.

Those who counted were the generals and the commanding generals. And then they sent messengers here to Mexico. Those who were sent as messengers were seasoned warriors, who informed Moctezuma of the great veracity of the four-hundred count. They brought word of how many groups of four hundred had been made captive.

And then they declared to him how many of the noblemen had won their reward for having made captives; that haply a number [of them] had had their hair thorn as seasoned warriors, or that some [had been made] leaders of the youths. When Moctezuma heard this, he rejoiced exceedingly, because his noblemen had taken captives. And at that time he freed those whom he had cast in jail—the victory messengers—and he gave them gifts along with the others.

And if war should be proclaimed against Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, and if there once again they took captives, they won much glory thereby; Moctezuma accorded them great honor for it. For his noblemen had taken captives, and had gained repute, and had reached the station of nobility—the estate of the eagle and the ocelot warriors. From there they came to rule, to govern cities; and at that time they seated them with [the nobility], and they might eat with Moctezuma.

565
868
701

Auh qujmjlhujaia in moteçuma, oanqujçiaubque, oanqujhijoujque in oçeloqujchtle: ximotlalican aço çan annechiztlacahuja, ma oc njcchia in jneltica tlatolli:

[687]

auh njman qujmoncaltzaqua intlacamo melaoac tlatolli oqujcaqujtique moteçuma qujntlatlatia qujnpopoloa.

727

Auh in vmpa iauc in iquac otlamaloc, in ie ihuquj in oia in oompoliuh, altepetl, njman ie mocempoa in mamalti, in vncan oacaltitla quezquj oaxioac in tenochtitlā, quezquj oaxioac in tlatilulco, auh inic noujian cenchinanpanecatl, centlalhoacpanecatl, mocemjtta in mamalti quezqujtzontli omuchiuh.

[202
701]

Jehoantin tlapoa in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: auh njman ic oallatitlanj, in njcan mexico, in oalmotitlanj iehoantin in tetequjoaque, in qujoalnonotza motecuçuma, in ie uel imelaoaca in jcentzontecca, in qujoalitquj tlatolli, in quezqujtzontli omochiuh malli:

[431]

auh in qujmelaujliaia in quezqujntin otlacnopilhujque in pipilti in otlamaque, aço cequjntin motequjoacaxima anoce cequjntin telpuchiacati. Jn qujcaquja in motecuçuma cenca ic papaquja ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque: auh qujnjquac qujnquixtiaia, in qujncaltzaquaia in tequjpan titlanti qujmōtehoan motlatlauhtia.

721
729
727

Auh intla oalmjtoz iaujotl in atlixco, aço vexotzinco, intla oc ceppa vmpa tlamazque, cenca ic vel panuetzi, ic cenca uel qujmmaujztilia in motecuçuma: ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque, in onmoteniotique in oconmjiaoaiotique in pillotl in quauhiotl, in oceloiotl, ic oncan in qujça in tlatocati, in qujpachoa altepetl, auh qujnjquac intlan qujntlalia: ytlan tlaqua in motecuçuma

4. *Chimpanpanecatl*: Sahagún's comment on fol. 53 of Book X of the *Florentine Codex* is descriptive: "y he de la tierra seca, que son las provincias de los chimpanpanecas."

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Appendix B

Continuation of the Twentieth Chapter[1]

. . . Then were rewarded the seasoned warriors who had brought word of the great veracity of the four-hundred count.[2]

. . . in iquac motlauhtia tequiuaqz,[2] y uel ymelauaca i ye ycentzontecca, oquiualitq'qz tlahtolli. 202 701

And in this wise the messengers entered; if the flesh of men had been taken captive, it was thus soon made known—all came tying and binding their hair, for the flesh of men had been taken and they thus made it evident. And much did the common folk rejoice when the saw them [and noted] that they came binding [their hair]. They said: "And so[4] the flesh of men hath been taken captive; for all the messengers go with bound [hair]!" And if some came separate [from the others], and came no more with their hair tied and bound, but went with it quite loose, thus they made it known that [our men] had been made captive and that there had been losses in the war. And when the common folk saw them, then a cry of grief arose. Then they said: "And so[4] there have been losses!"

Auh inic ualcalaquia in titlanti intla otonacatlamaloc. ic monextiiuitze mochinti quihcuistiuitze in inquatzõ ontlalpihtiuitze. ypampa ca otonacatlamaloc. ic quitemachitiaya. Auh cenca ic pahpaqz im macecualti in q'mittaya. in ontlacuistiuitze. quitoua. anca otonacatlamaloc ca mochintin ontlacuistiui in titlanti. auh intla ceq'ntin ic xeliubtiuitze in aocmo ontlalpihtiuitze, y nocmo. yhcuistiuitz inquatzõ y ça tontiuh. yc quinestiaya. ca otlamaloc, yuan omicouac ỹ yaoc. Auh in oq'mittaqz macecualtin nimã ic tlachoquiztleua. niman iuh quitoua, anca omicouac. 201 727

And the noblemen, when they had taken some captives, did not anoint themselves with yellow but rather stained themselves with red ochre, which they put on all over; and they were pasted with eagle down. And Moctezuma rewarded them all with princely capes and breech clouts of great value and high honor, and with preciously wrought quetzal feather devices [ornamented] with gold, and with shields with, perhaps, quetzal feather garlands—very rich shields.

auh im pipilti in iquac tlaotlamahqz. amo motecocauhaltia, çan tlauhtica mohçaya quicemaqz in nouia intech. auh mopotonia quauhtlachcayotica. auh in q'ntlauhtia motecccuiçoma moch yeuatl in tlatocatlmahtli. in tlatocamastlatl. y cẽca tlaçotli immauizço. yuan tlaçotlanq' quetzallauiztli teocuitlayo. yuan chimalli. aço quetzalcoacayo y uel tlaçotli chimalli. 565 302 727 431

And if one's captives came alive, then he had stewards guard them, and they took great care of them lest they take sick; perhaps it might be twenty or forty that they would guard.

auh ỹ yeuatl ymal intla oualyoltia niman q'mpieltia in calpiqz uel quimocuitlauia inic amo cocolizcuiz intla oc cempoualtiz anoço compoualtiz. in ẽpiezque. 727

And at the time when the captive was to die, then

Auh i ye yquac miquiz malli. ỹ yehuatl tlamani 000

1. See ending of Chapter 20, above.
This passage originally, in the *Real Academia MS*, completed the section ending *tlatoani quiyolitiaco motlatlauhtia*. The remaining part of Chapter 20 there appears as an interpolation.

2. The abbreviation for the ending *-qve* in the original resembles *-qz*, and is thus reproduced here.

3. This phrase appears capable of more than one interpretation: cf. Molina, *op. cit.*, *Antocnotequilli*, and *ovalcauaa tequilla*. Seler's translation of a similar passage in Chapter 26 (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 331)—*ipe uel y motlauaa tiuivetzcuaaca*—is "*in richtiger Weise das Zahl der Verbundenen.*"

4. *Anca*: cf. Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del Náhuatl* (Otumba, Méx.: [Imprenta Mayé], 1940), p. 188; also Horacio Carochi: *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (Méxicо: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), p. 519.

773 verily he traveled there [to the east] when he went. And [Moctezuma] sent five to go to receive him and
648 to offer him gifts. The leader was Teuoa [such
● 565 was] his lordly name; his name as a nobleman was Yoalli ichan. The second was [the steward of] Tepoztlan; the third, of Tiçatlan; the fourth, of Uexotlan; the fifth, of Ueicamecatlan.[6]

Teuoa, in jtecutoca, in jpilnoca Joalli ichan. Injc vme Tepuztecatl. Injc ei, tiçaoa. Inic navi vevetecatl. Injc macujlli Veicamecatl heca.

6. Cf. Sahagún, loc. cit., where these are given in same form as here. Tepuztecatl here is interpreted as Tepoztecatl.

satisfied, because we have known and heard him. For a long time we have wished to see him and to look upon his face. And now that we have seen him and have come to his house in Mexico, at leisure he may hear our words."

Thereupon they took him by the hand and went leading him by it. They clapped him on the back in order to make known to him their love.

And the Spaniards beheld and examined him. They walked about on foot, and mounted or dismounted in order to look at him.

And the nobles, as many as accompanied him, [were], first, Cacamatzin, ruler of Texcoco; second, Tetlepanquetzatzin, ruler of Tlacopan; third Itzquauhtzin, a general, ruler of Tlatilulco; and fourth, Topantemoctzin, of Tlatilulco, who was Moctezuma's store keeper. [These] accompanied him. And still other noblemen of Tenochtitlan [were] Atlixcatzin, a commanding general; Tepeuatzin, a general; Totomotzin, the army commander; Ecatenpatiltzin, and Quappiatzin. When Moctezuma was taken, they only hid themselves and took refuge. They abandoned him in desperation.

ca tiquixmati in ticcaquj, ca ie izquich cavitl in cenca tiquittaznequj in jxco titlachiaznequj. Auh injn ca otiquittaque, ie otioallaq in jchan in Mexico, iujañ qujcaquja in totlatol: 648

njman ie ic imatitech conanque, ie ic quivicatiuj-tze, quitzotzona injc quinextilia in intetlaçotlaliz.

Auh in Españoles quitta, quicecemjtta, icxitlan ompepeoa, ontletleco, oalteteno injc quitta.

Auh in tlatoque izquintin in jtlan mantiaque. Inic ce, Cacamatzin, Texcucu tlatoanj. Inic vme, Tetle-päquetzatzin: tlacoban tlatoanj. Injc ei, Itzquauh-tzin tlacochcalcatl: tlatilulco tlatoanj. Injc navi, Topantemoctzin, tlatilulco itlatlatlalicaub catca, in Motecuçoma in ommantiaque. Auh in occequintin pipiltin tenochca in Atlixcatzin, tlacatecatl, in tepe-oatzin, tlacochcalcatl, Quetzalaztatzin, Ticociacacatl, Totomotzin, hecatẽpatiltzin, Quappiatzin in nauoc Motecuçoma camo çã motlatique, mjnauque, quj-tlauelcaubque. 648 565

43

[p. 44 is blank]

-43-

Thirty-ninth Chapter, in which is told how, when the [Spaniards] had forced them to the wall, there appeared to the Mexicans what showed itself to be [a ball of] jasper[1] which seemed to issue from the heavens and came to view like a large coal of fire.

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli onnavi capitulo: 726
vncā mjtoa in quenjn iehoantin Mexica in jquac ovel- 787
quijncaltechpachoto in nez in mottac Eztetl: iuh-
q'nma ilhujcacpa valla. Auh injc valneztia iuhqōjn
vei tlexuchdi.

And when night had fallen, then it rained and sprinkled at intervals. Late at night the flame became visible; just so was it seen, just so it emerged as if it came from the heavens. Like a whirlwind[2] it went spinning around and revolving; it was as if embers burst out of it — some very large, some very small, some like sparks. Like a coppery wind it arose, crackling, snapping, and exploding loudly. Then it circled the dike and traveled toward Coyonacazco;[3] then it went into the middle of the lake there to be lost.

Auh in ovalioac: njman ie ic ꝯujqujiavi, avach-
quijquijiavi, ie tlaquauhiova in nez tletl: in juh
mottac, in juh nez, iuhqujn ilhujcacpa valla, iuh-
qujn ecamalacutl, momamalacachotiuh, motevilaca-
chotiuh, iuhqujn cuecuepocatiuh tlexuchtli, cequj
vevei, cequj çan tepitoton, cequj ça iuhqujn tlemo-
iutl, iuhqujn ecatepuztli, moquetza, cenca icoioca,
tetecujca, titicujca, çan qujiavalo in aſenamjtl: coio-
nacazco in valitztia: njmā ic ia in anepantla, vmpa
popolivito,

None shouted; none spoke aloud.

aiac motenvitec, aiac navat:

And on the next day, nothing more happened. All remained [quiet], and also our foes [so] remained.

auh in jmuztlaioc, aoc no tle muchiuh, ça onoac,
ça no onoque in tojovan.

But the Captain [Cortés] was watching from a roof-top at Amaxac — from the roof-top of [the house of] Axtauatzin — under a canopy. It was a many-colored canopy. He was looking toward the common folk; the Spaniards stood crowded about him and took counsel among themselves.

Auh in capitan tlapāco vallachixtica in amaxac, 000
Aztavatzin itlapanco, cevalcalco, tlatlapalli in ceval-
calli, quimonjtztica in macevaltin, cololhujtoque in
Españoles, mononotztoque.

And [on our side] were Quauhtemoc and the other noblemen[4] — the ruler's vicar[5] Tlacotzin, the lords' judge[6] Petlauhtzin, the captain of the armies' Motelchiuhtzin, the constable[7] of Mexico, and the lord priest;[8] and also the rulers of Tlatilulco — the

Auh in Quauhtemoctzin; yoan in oc cequjntin 701
tlatoque. Civacoatl tlacotzin. Tlillancalquj. vitzna- 565
oatl. Petlauhtzin. Motelchiuhtzi mexicatl. Achcauh-
tli, Tecutlāmacaccatzin. Niman in iehoantin in tla-
tilulco tlatoque. Tlacuchcalcatl. Coiovevetzin. tla-

1. Ixtar, *op. cit.*, p. 505, translates *camal* (corrected *camalt*) as *Blutjaspis*. See, however, Simeon, *op. cit.*
2. Ixtar, *loc. cit.*, has *ein Wirbelwind (?)*.
3. See Chapter 34, n. 5.
4. We have rearranged the first few of the nobles as Ixtar does in *op. cit.*, p. 367, for the sake of more logical reading.
5. *Cihuacoatl*. Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, III, fol. 3; also Juan de Torquemada: *Segunda parte de los veinte i un libros rituales i monarchia indiana* (Madrid: Nicolas Rodriguez Franco, 1723), II, p. 352; Chimalpahin, *op. cit.*, p. 195.
6. *Tlillancalqui*. Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, fol. 65. For *tlillancalcatl*, Torquemada, *op. cit.*, p. 178, has *tecalcatl* *cuyper*.
7. *Ilhuicamina*. Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, fol. 67.
8. *Achcauhtli*. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, III — *The Origin of the Gods*, p. 53.
9. *Tlacochcalcatzin*. Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 127.

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

701 general[10] Coyoueuetzin; the commanding general
565 Temilotzin; the army commander[11] Tepantemoc-
tzin; the chief justice[12] Aueliuoctzin; the captain of
the armies[13] Uitzilinitzin; the Tlacopan ruler Uitzi-
tzin. All of these rulers were assembled at Tolmayo-
can; they appeared to consult among themselves how
this should be done: what we should offer as tribute,
and how we should yield to [the Spaniards].

728 Thereafter only two [men] took Quauhtemoc in
a boat. The two who took him and went with him
were the seasoned warrior Tepuztzitoloc, and Yaz-
tachimal, Quauhtemoc's page. And the one who
poled [the boat] was named Cenyaotl.

And when they carried Quauhtemoc off, then
there was weeping among all the common folk.
They said: "Now goeth the young lord Quauhte-
moc; now he goeth to deliver himself to the gods,
the Spaniards!"

catecatl. Temjlotzin. Ticociauacatl. Topantemoc-
tzin. Mixcoatlailorlactzin. Aueliuoctzin, vitznaoatl.
vitzilivitzin. tepanecatl vitzitzin: in iuhchintin in
tlatoque, in ocentlalticatca tolmaiecah monenotz-
toca in quenjn iuhcioaz in tlein tictequjtinque: auh
in quenjn intlan toncalaqujzque.

Niman ie ic qujvica in Quauhtemoctzin, acalica,
çan conmoe: vmetin in conviçaque, itlan ietiaque.
Tepuztzitoloc tequjoa, yoan Jaztachimal itolouh in
Quauhtemoctzin. Auh cr qujtlanelhujtia itoca Cen-
iautl:

auh in jquac ie qujvica in Quauhtemoctzin: njmá
ie ic mochoqujlia in izquich macevalli quitoque. Je
iauh in tlacatl xocoiotl in Quauhtemoctzin ie iauh
qujnmoenacaz in teteu in Españoles.

---

10. *Tlacochcalcatl.* Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *loc. cit.*

11. *Tlacatecatl.* Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, I, fol. 45. The suffix is omitted in the *Florentine Codex.*

12. *Mixcoatlailortlactzin.* Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, fol. 48.

13. *Tzompanecatl.* Cf. Chimalpáhin, *op. cit.*, p. 242. Carrasco de Peñaloza, *op. cit.*, III, p. 288, mentions captains of the same lines as Quauh-temoc of the ruler of Tenoch (Tlacopan); see Ixtlilxochitl, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

127 majority of the data which could not be considered as a result of Spanish influence were taken as remains of situations from before the Spanish conquest. In every case the principal citerion of accuracy was the congruity presented by the data themselves; particularly in the sifting of data in works written long after the conquest or by authors who did not come to Mexico in this period (Acosta, Torquemada, Clavijero, Gómara, etc.) but who had at hand information and documents which we now lack, or who saw remains atill little modified of the ancient social organization of Tenochtitlan.

The contorted form reflected by some arguments derives principally from the necessity of taking advantage of the few facts about the subject, which are not always specific or categorized, but which refer to secondary or derived cultural traits; and which suggest a prior basic situation necessary to their appearance.

/p. 21/ THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CALPULLI

/p. 23/ Chapter 2

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

565 463 In the sources for the history of Mexico we find data which beyond doubt demonstrate the existence of social stratification among the Tenochcas and which have let a few authors think that the Tenochcas had social classes. These data are very diverse in nature and very abundant, but here only the more significant will be presented: the division between manual laborers and directors, the paying of tribute, the differentiation in the living standard, the relation between the strata and the calpullis, and the inheritance of property to a determined stratum.

With respect to the division of labor we find a great difference of activities between two types of people: those who undertook manual labor and those who undertook essentially directive tasks. We are told that the macehuales were the common people and laborers (1) and that

1. Zurita, p. 94.

565
463

they worked at their crafts (2), that is, they were manual laborers.

2. Acosta, José de, p. 425. "crafts" [oficios] being considered a more or less specialized manual artisan activity.

On the other hand the pillis and the tecuhtlis had as occupations "to serve in war and in public office as governors and ministers of justice... squires... messengers... to oversee the sowing of seed or other things which were done in common or for their festivities and the service of the ruler" (3) and "to watch over the lands of the

3. Zurita, p. 89.

calpulli and defend them, to keep each marked in its proper fashion, and see to the boundaries between each, and where and with whose they bordered and who worked them, and who owned which and which were vacant... and who and when and to whom they were given" (4) and to see to it "that they be not entered upon" (5), and

4. Zurita, p. 90.

5. Zurita, p. 88.

they were "careful to protect the men of the calpulli and speak for them before the governors" (6); that is, that the pillis undertook tasks

6. Zurita, p. 90.

essentially directive or coordinative (7). With these data we can

7. With reference to Tlaxcalla, Muñoz Camargo tells us (p. 103) that the tecuhtlis /p. 24/ and pillis "are thought of as men of quality even when very poor who never carry out mechanical tasks or base or servile undertakings. They never allow themselves to carry a burden or dig with hoes or plows, saying that they are nobles [hidalgos] and that they will not apply themselves to these vile and base things, but rather

565
463

are they to serve in wars and on the frontiers." This was surely what happened in Tenochtitlan although unfortunately we have no such clear affirmation for this place.

/p. 24/ assert that among the Tenochcas there was present a marked differentiation with respect to labor: there were people who undertook manual labor and people dedicated to directive activities. These latter, also appear in our data strongly related to the calpulli.

565
463
651

The difference in the social division of labor which we have seen in the last paragraph had possibly as its principal manifestation the position with respect to the paying of tribute: some were tributaries and some received tribute. It is told us in this regard that "the poor macehuales worked all day for their tribute and in order to give food to them (to the lords) to eat; because in a village of a thousand people there are a chief /cacique/ and a hundred lords / principales/ among whom the village is divided into wards... and these eat and drink and loaf at the expense of the poor workers (or macehuales, as we have seen) who support it all; and this is a very old custom in all the provinces of the land" (8), (that is, also in Tenochtitlan and not through

8. López Gerónimo, 11, p. 151. Although the assertion of a confirmed pro-slavist, it is useful and synthesizes many isolated facts.

Spanish influence). From our data we conclude first, that the lords were approximately 10 percent of the population and moreover, that there was a division between people receiving tribute—those undertaking directive work—and people tributary—those who undertook manual work— and there comes to light again the relationship between this social stratification and the division of land, only that now with respect to the paying of tribute, the lords receiving tribute were those in charge of the town wards. Everything is confirmed in other sources: we are told that the macehuales "worked a plot of land for their lord or head (of the calpulli) for his sustenance and gave him service according to the people there were in the village" (9). Another

9. Zurita, p. 142.

author tells us that the elders used to say "that the common people

565 463 651 contributed to their natural and legitimate masters in making their houses and cultivating their plots... and they did the same for the lords" (10). Taking into account all that has been said above it is

10. Anunciación, p. 237.

clear that the payment of tribute existed within the same Tenochca group and reflected a difference between two kinds of people, and that there existed a relationship between this stratification and the ward divisions. It also appears from our data that, besides the tribute to the lords, there was a tribute to the rulers [a los "señores"], to the chiefs [a los "caciques"], which is probably to say, to the chiefs of the whole group, not just to the lesser ward lords.

565 511 It is certain that as a result of the role in the division of labor and of the difference between being tributary and tribute-receiving, great differences in the standard of living in the population came about in Tenochtitlan. The macehuales had "neither furniture, nor clothing other than what they wear on their persons, which is very poor, and one or two stones for grinding maize, and a few pots for cooking and a mat on which they sleep... and they eat little... the common [651] people and the plebians are so tyrannized by their Indian lords that most of them have their rations taxed." (11). On the other hand we

11. Oviedo, III, p. 535. The weakness of the author cited vanishes by reason of its congruence with other authorities.

are told that the lords and rulers were always going to banquets and weddings (12) and that the princes slept in beds (13) and that the

12. López Gerónimo, II, p. 151.

13. Mártin de Anglería, P., p. 470.

[525] rulers had and gambled with "precious stones and jewels and gold and featherwork, slaves, blankets of all sorts, and arms and trappings of war" (14). We have all seen, likewise, the diversity which the

14. Pomar, p. 27. Although the fact refers to Texcoco, it coincides with what is known in less

565
511

categorical assertions such as that of the Codex Alcobiz (Laws which the Indians had) [Leyes que tenian los Indios].

codices show between the clothes and gear of the macehuales those of and the lords and rulers in illustrations of Sahagun, Mendoza, etc. All of these are facts which oblige us to think that there were great differences of richness and well-being within the population of Mexico-Tenochtitlan and that these differences existed between the macehuales and pillis.

565
595

Another aspect which showed the differences between segments of the population was sexual life: "it is said that commoners have only one wife; but the lords can have concubines at their wish" (15), and

15. Mendieta, Eclesiastical History [Historia Eclestiástica], p. 297.

when they married "the noble women brought with them other maid-servants (and with all these women the men had)... much profit for they made them weave and make blankets, and perform other services of this sort" (16).

16. Motolinía, History [Historia], p. 164.

These data show us not only the well-being of the polygamous lords implicit in having a multitude of wives, but also the economic well-being derived from this polygyny, which was beyond the reach of the macehuales.

565
463

However, it seems that this stratification also included groups of people dedicated to occupations other than agriculture since we are told that the merchants also had lords who went about with the heads of the calpullis (17), which makes us think that not all the merchants

17. Zurita, p. 143.

were /p. 26/ lords, and that therefore there obtained among them also the stratification of which we have been speaking. Complementing and clarifying the situation, we know that the merchants and the artisans, although they cultivated their land, did not give tribute by working the fields but in work of their particular occupation

565 463 (18) such as masons, carpenters, feather-workers and metal-workers

18. Zurita, p. 142.

(19). Although it is not made clear to us whether this tribute of

19. Oviedo, III, p. 535.

"merchants and artisans" was in relation to the rulers of the whole Tenochca group or only to the lords of the corresponding calpulli, it is very possible that in this tributation there occurred the same thing which happened to the workers which we have seen: they paid both. All this makes us think that the stratification which existed among the Tenochcas was not in layers of workers, artisans, merchants, and chiefs, but rather between the chiefs and the governed, be they laborers, artisans, or merchants. This conception is reinforced by our being told that the pochteca tlatoque (a term translated as the lords of the pochteca, that is, merchants) did not go on the trips of the merchants, but that they entrusted their "merchandise" to them that they sell it for them and later they divided the profit (20); which is

20. Sahagún, I., p. 351.

to say that within the group, differences of occupation were present which resulted in a stratification between people who worked as merchants and people who, because of another class of work (directive, as chiefs, as "lords") received part of the benefits obtained through "marketing." It is told of the artisans of Texcoco that the nobles also learned crafts, but only as a distraction (21). Assuredly a similar

21. Pomar, p. 38.

situation existed in Tenochtitlan and almost certainly corresponded to the division between pillis and macehuales, in groups of artisans.

565 428 It is advisable to make further clarifications with respect to the division between tributary macehuales and tribute-exacting pillis. One source tells us that although the lords had many women, they considered only one of them the most important and the children she bore [were considered] as inheritors of their position (22). Although the

565
428

22. Pomar, p. 25. Actually Pomar gives contradictory information: "they always leave as heir to their estate the son of the legitimate wife" and "to the most virtuous, although he be the youngest... (or) of the other women." Nevertheless, paternal inheritance remains as the fact common to all.

information does not refer to Tenochtitlan, certainly it was valid also for the lords of that place, and Zurita does confirm it in part (23).

23. Zurita, p. 90.

Another author tells us that in cases of rebellion by the lords, they were removed and the rulers placed a near relative, such as a brother, in his place, but not his son (24). It resulted from this that the legal

24. Mendieta, History [Historia], p. 154.

heir of the calpulli chief was in these cases a relative of the predecessor, although not necessarily his son; possibly it can be said that the relatives of the chief of the calpulli were lords, that they could potentially become tribute-exactors like the chiefs if they ever achieved this category, and that not all did achieve it. However, the wives and children of the calpulli chief certainly had the benefit of the tribute paid to him (25).

25. Muñoz Camargo, with respect to Tlaxcalla tells us that "the family estates [mayorazgos] entailed by them (the pillis), are never divided, and they (this must refer to the macehuales) were obliged only to support all the relatives and brothers of that family" (p. 8).

565
651

We are told that there were in the wards other persons of authority besides the chief, such as the telpochtlato (26) or director of the school

26. Torquemada, II, p. 220.

of each ward, who certainly lived from tribute. We are told on many occasions of tribute for the temples (see page 42) thus making some

565 651 priests tribute receivers. But there are still some other very important complementary data: on one hand that "painters, whom they called tlaculoca (sic: tlácuiloque), were exempted from contributions and from some services... also the singers... and the players of instruments... neither did the instructors contribute..." (27). On the other

27. Fuenleal, p. 249.

hand we know that all who contributed were called macehuales (28)

28. Fuenleal, p. 249.

and that the relatives of rulers and some lords did not contribute (29),

29. Oviedo, III, p. 535.

from which we can infer that the musicians, singers, instructors, etc. who did not contribute, were people from among the rulers and lords, and not from the macehuales; although such a conclusion is not absolutely necessary or compelling.

There are, nevertheless, within the scheme of the tributary [729] macehuales and the tribute-exacting lords some exceptions: those who distinguished themselves in war were exempted from taxation (30),

30. Fuenleal, p. 249.

which obliges us to think that they were macehuales who enjoyed a privilege which the other macehuales did not have. Certainly these macehuales were the ones who were made nobles by favor (31) and

31. Sahagún, II, p. 308.

about whom there are no data to indicate that they received tribute, that is that they were "nobles," lords by inheritance, nor could they have "tenants" [*terrasgueros*] (32), that is, could live from tribute,

32. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

and /p. 28/ who for that reason, like the common macehuales, personally worked their lands: their distinctive character was simply that

565 of not contributing. On the other hand we have a counterpart to these
651 macehuales who did not contribute: there were lords who being caught
[681] in a crime were punished by "being condemned to death" or to exile or to being sheared, or they were made macehuales (33), that is, they

33. Sahagún, II, p. 308.

were pillis from whom was taken the right to exact tribute and on whom was imposed the obligation of contributing. We saw also earlier that not all lords were exempt from contribution. We can think, nevertheless, that these cases must have been an exception, and that in general the macehuales were tributary and the pillis tribute-exacting.

We would thus have in Tenochtitlan a whole gamut of people in different situations with respect to tributation: people receiving tribute from all tribute-paying persons, people receiving tribute from the members of their calpulli, people neither tributary nor tribute-receiving, and people not tribute-receiving but tributary. According to the above data there is no doubt that there was present a marked differentiation among these levels of the population, at least. If we were to take these data only into account, of course we would have to think that the Tenochca society had classes; but if we analyze other data at our disposal, we will see the great importance which inheritance had in the belonging to each one of these levels (except that composed of the valiant in battle), which removes the class-
565 like character from them. In the first place we are told that upon
852 the birth of children "they were washed by the priests and after being washed they [the priests] would place in the child's right hand a tiny sword and in the left, a little shield. The children of the common people were given the insignia of their occupation, and all this beneath some idol" (34). From this it is infered that the people were

34. Acosta, José de, p. 425.

differentiated by their rank from birth: some were born destined to serve in war and on the frontiers (those with the little shields, who were not commoners) and were not to apply themselves to base work, and others were born destined to be laborers and to have humble and
565 vile occupations. Now this situation was hereditary since the pillis were called "lords" (35) and were the sons and grandsons and

565

35. Zurita, p. 91.

great-grandsons of lords (36); that is to say, that the differentiation

36. Zurita, p. 90.

which was made between these two types of people from birth was hereditary. And as we are actually told of lords from the epoch of the Tenochca migration (37), we may believe that they were very

37. Geneology and Lineage [Genealogía y Linaje], p. 248.

ancient ranks. The position of the macehuales was certainly also inseparable and socially complementary to the position of lord /p. 29/: it is mentioned also during the migration (38), and could

38. Tezozomoc, Mexicayotl, p. 147.

be considered as a mental reflection of the situation, the legend which tells that the macehuales all descend from the first macehuales, the ancient gods Oxomoco and Cipactonal (39) connected intimately

39. History of the Mexicans from their Pictures [Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas], p. 210.

with the tasks of cultivation of maize, proper to their rank. With respect to merchants we also have [reference to] the existence of lords since the epoch of Cuacuauhpitzahuac in Tlatelolco (40) which

40. Sahagún, III, p. 341.

would confirm their hereditary stratification. As for the artisans, there were founders of the crafts whose successors adored them as gods (41), and who certainly were the corresponding pilli forefathers.

41. Sahagún, I, p. 46. Sahagún, II, p. 387; Torquemada, II, p. 60.

565 These levels did not have an absolute castelike rigidity. Besides what we have already seen regarding the fact that some macehuales were in a special position by reason of their exploits in life and not by birth, and that there were lords who lost their privileged situation of tribute receiving, we know that it was customary for pillis and [582] macehuales (42) to intermarry, the children of which marriages must

42. Motolinía, Memorials [Memoriales], p. 123; Zumárraga, p. 66, etc.

have had a different position from those children of marriages between pillis or of pure macehuales. There must have been present a whole series of people, from the most noble to the most plebian, we could say (using the terms noble and plebian in our sense), giving rise to a real pyramid of levels within the Tenochca group. Thus we see that the differentiation of rank had a corresponding economic differentiation; but that this latter had a limitation: not all the pillis could be recipients of tribute, but only the functionaries of the tribe or of the calpulli, and on the other hand, not all the macehuales payed tribute, those valiant in war being excepted. In their recognition of this stratification Caso, Spinden (43), Toscano, Moreno, White, etc. are

43. Spinden, H.J., 1943, p. 210.

right, but only in part, since these strata were not social classes; they could be considered ranks because of the little mobility of those belonging to them, generally by birth (an affirmation which with respect to the uppermost level can be definitive); but—and this is the fundamental thing—it can be shown that the existance of these strata was hinged to that of ambilateral stratified clans, the calpullis, and that it was therefore not a fundamental structure but a derived one, as will be seen in the second part of this work.

/p. 31/

Chapter 3

TERRITORIAL DIVISION

631 Another of the aspects of the social organization of Tenochtitlan which has led us to think that it was not based on kinship through

X 618 582 being an exogamous clan—if the calpulli were matrilineal since had it been patrilineal the marriage would have been between relatives, which is contrary to the very principles of the exogamous clan. Case 'a' only could have occured—had the calpulli been an exogamous clan—in a patrilineal clan since otherwise it would have been between clan relatives. All the marriages could have been realized only in the event that the calpulli did not have exogamous rules in any line: that is, that it had an endogamous tendency.

X 618 582 ● 565 The contradiction between the endogamous tendency of the calpullis and the undoubted custom which the governing group had of /p. 68/ making their marriages between people of distant towns is only apparent; on one hand it can be thought that many of the members of the governing group of central Mexico were relatives through common descent and married one another for this reason (this would be reinforced by a fe exceptions such as Tlaxcalla, with [whose people] marriage was never joined). On the other hand the situation can be viewed thus: the members of the governing group did not follow strictly endogamous rules as did the others of the community, but simply had the tendency to seek in every concrete case the improvement of their lineage (which, moreover, is a trait of ambilateral clans). In general these two explanations do not excluse one another, and in fact, we find that among the Tenochcas there were calpullis which extended over more than one town and that members of different calpullis married (10). The first is suggested by the repeated

10. Referring to what happens in present calpulli-wards, which appear still to have something of the reckoning of kinship through common descent as their basis, Redfield tells us that the majority of people live in the ward where their ancestors lived for generations and that generally the belonging to a ward is by inheritance (1928, p. 287), and then he informs us that he did not find evidence that the belonging to a given ward affected the choice of a wife. There appears to me to be a contradiction in this, since if the belonging to a calpulli is hereditary and if the calpullis are localized, the only way in which they might remain localized would be by the joining in marriage of people of the same ward. Very probably it happens thus, there being also a patrilocal custom within

X 618 582 565

the same ward; although some marriages may occur between persons of different wards, perhaps still according to special circumstances. The considering of the calpulli as a clan with endogamous tendencies, which is even now found as a vestige in Tepoztlán, removes these contradictions, which can also be taken as an argument in favor of the new position which is here presented with respect to the calpulli.

names of some isolated towns which seem to have been calpullis (like Pochtlan, Amantla, etc.) and the second is suggested by the affirmations of marriages between different lords (see p. 72).

X 618 611

We have, finally, as an indication of the existence of this type of clan, an argument in favor of the fact that among the Tenochcas the reckoning of kinship was ambilateral. This refers also to the members of the population's governing group; but the fact that they also had their calpulli and for the reasons presented in the paragraph concerning their habit of endogamy, largely invalidates the objections which could be made in this respect. In a large number of cases, in the genealogies of the Mexico-Tenochtitlan rulers both lines, that of the father and that of the mother, are taken to fix the inheritance of each person; this is clearly an ambilateral characteristic. Of course it can be taken to refer to the reckoning of kinship within the family, which is always ambilateral, and not to the reckoning of kinship through common descent, of the clan, which could be unilateral of ambilateral. But in part this objection is done away with /p. 69/ when we see that in the sources from the same period, but referring to other groups than the Tenochcan, connections are made always through persons of male sex as if they were unilateral (11), and only

11. Espejo, Antonieta and Monzon, 1945, p. 48.

in those [sources] dealing with the Tenochcas (and others who do not interest us now) are connections made through both sexes. According to this, we have the right to think that the reckoning of kinship common descent was made ambilaterally among the Tenochcas (12).

12. Redfield tells us, speaking of the calpullis, which are now wards of Tepoztlán, that they tend to include

X618 611 groups of uninterrupted family lines which trace their descent through the father's line. (Redfield, R., 1928, p. 294). This would not give a unilateral reckoning of kinship if marriages obtained within the same ward, since they would be impossible in patrilineal (or matrilineal) exogamous groups. It can be said that it is more common to follow the father's line in the reckoning of descent, and nothing more.

X618 The certainty of the calpulli's being a clan, joined with: the proofs that they did not have exogamous customs with patrilineal reckoning of kinship through common descent; the slight possibility of their having had matrilineal [customs]; the indications that they had ambilateral reckoning of kinship through common descent; and that they had a tendency to endogamy; these, all together, are arguments for asserting with confidence that the calpullis were clans, ambilateral and with an endogamous tendency, and there is nothing—at least according to the documents which we now have at our disposal—to cause us to think that they were not clans, or that they were exogamous and unilateral.

/p. 70/ Chapter 8

DIFFERENTIAL INHERITANCE OF RANK AND THE CALPULLIS

X618 ● 565 We still need to find out what was the relation between the clans and the social strata, which undoubtedly occurred among the Tenochcas. We have seen how the calpulli presented ambilateral clan characteristics (kinship through common descent, ambilateral reckoning of this kinship, and a tendency towards endogamy). Let us now see how another of the characteristics of an ambilateral clan also occurred in the calpulli, a characteristic which has brought about its being called "pyramidal" (1): the internal inequality which con-

1. Kirchhoff, P., 1944, p. 11.

trasts with the generally very equalitarian character of exogamous clans. This is of much importance because the principal thesis of one

of the groups which has studied Tenochcan society is that, as clans were present—which for them were only unilateral and exogamous (see p. 16)—they must necessarily be equalitarian (2). Contrariwise

2. Bandelier, 1877, p. 589; Morgan, 1877, p. 205, etc.

to this it can be demonstrated that there was in the calpulli a great internal differentiation of its members, and that it was not in any way democratic and equalitarian but rather highly aristocratic.

The proofs for making this affirmation are based on various declarations of people who saw how the calpulli functioned shortly after the conquest or who had at hand documents and informants which we today lack. In the first place we know that "the commoners of these wards or calpullec [sic] always have a chief and never wish to be without one, and he must be one of themselves and not from another calpulli, nor a foreigner because they will not allow of it" (3). This

3. Zurita, p. 89.

means for us that the members of the Tenochcan clans always had a chief, who had to be a member of his own calpulli.

This difference between chiefs and the governed people is, of course, always present among the members of all the clans; but the important thing is that this position of head of the calpulli was for life and was hereditary, since it is affirmed that upon the death of the head of the calpulli "they elected another, the most honored, learned and able in his way, and old; and if any son of the defunct is left, they elect him, and they always /p. 72/ choose a relative of the deceased if there be one suitable for the position" (4). In other

4. Zurita, p. 90.

words a chief was elected when the last one died, and preferably, according to this declaration, from his [the predecessor's] family. Although according to the above it appears to have been nothing more than a preference for naming the chief of the calpulli from among the members of the dead chief's family, we find other affirmations which make us see that the belonging to it was not simply a preference but a requisite, since the new chief had to be a lord

X 618(5), that is, must have had a rank prior to the fulfullment of his post.

● 565

5. Zurita, p. 89, 90.

Very well, in what did this rank consist? Certainly in having a determined inheritance as we have already seen when speaking of social stratification (see p. 26, 27) and as can be gathered from the affirmation that the heads or major relatives of the calpullis could trace their families back to very ancient times (6), which implies that they

6. Zurita, p. 86.

had ancestors who were very similar to themselves, possibly also lords as a consequence. Furthermore, during the migration the calpullis came guided by captains (7) and among them came nobody of much

7. Gómara, II, p. 265; Motolinía, Memorials [Memoriales], p. 5.

account save only some lords (8). With this, together with the as-

8. Genealogy and Lineage, [Genealogía y Linaje], p. 248.

sertion that the relatives of the dead chief were preferred, who was himself a lord, and with the certainty that the fact of being a lord was a rank transmitted by inheritance, we are led to believe that the inheritance of clan chieftainship extended—at least through a line of ancestors—back to a very early period. The principal chiefs of the calpullis were members of the families descended from nobles of his own calpulli. That is, they were strongly aristocratic.

But we have to take into account that the calpulli was ambilateral and that inheritance was determined through both lines. What happened then with the inheritance of lords in the maternal line? On one hand we are told that the daughters of lords usually married persons from distant places (9), who generally were well-to-do (10). On the other

9. Anonymous. A note in different handwriting on page 109 of Zurita.

9:Monzon--77 E-4 (no date) .. 1949 .. NU7 Aztec NU7

10. Muñoz Camargo, p. 78.

X 618
●565

hand, and referring concretely to Tenochtitlan it is affirmed that the lords of the wards gave as many as twenty daughters to Acamapichtli so that he would have descendents by them, and that from Acamapichtli and the daughters of the lords, came the majority and the best heritages of this land (11). With all /p. 77/ this we can accept that at

11. Gómara, II, p. 273.

least in some cases, one of the lines of descent of the calpullis' lords —the maternal line—had the same heritage as the lords of Tenochtitlan. And it is even possible that in each case—remembering that in the ambilateral clan one always attempts to improve the lineage through both lines—preference would be given for the succession to clan chieftainship to sons born of the daughters of the calpulli chiefs and of the rulers of Tenochtitlan since the lords had as successors the sons of the principal women to whom they were married (12). It could perfectly well happen that the most noble woman to

12. Zurita, p. 74; Pomar, p. 25.

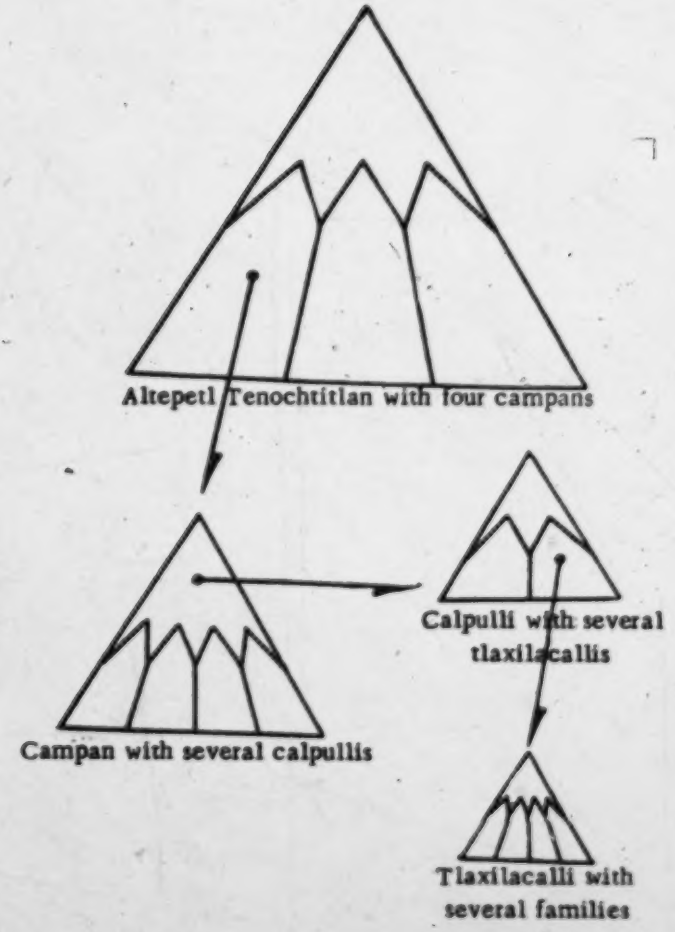
whom the chief of a calpulli was married, were the daughter of the marriage between some ruler of Mexico and some one of the daughters of the lords of the corresponding calpulli. We can say, nevertheless, that the chief of the calpulli did not necessarily have to be the direct and immediate descendent of the chiefs of Mexico since once having acquired his inheritance through one person, this person transmitted it automatically. We know moreover in this regard that the pipiltzin "which word means lords—are grandchildren and greatgrandchildren of the rulers" (13). It could well have been as a consequence that

13. Zurita, p. 91.

the chiefs of the calpulli had through one line, that of the father, the heritage of the predecessors of their own calpulli, and through the other, that of the mother, the heritage, perhaps distant, of the rulers of Mexico.

The ties of the lords of one calpulli with the lords of other calpullis, and especially with the rulers of the whole Tenochcan group

/p. 73/ SCHEMATIC PICTURE OF THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF TENOCHTITLAN

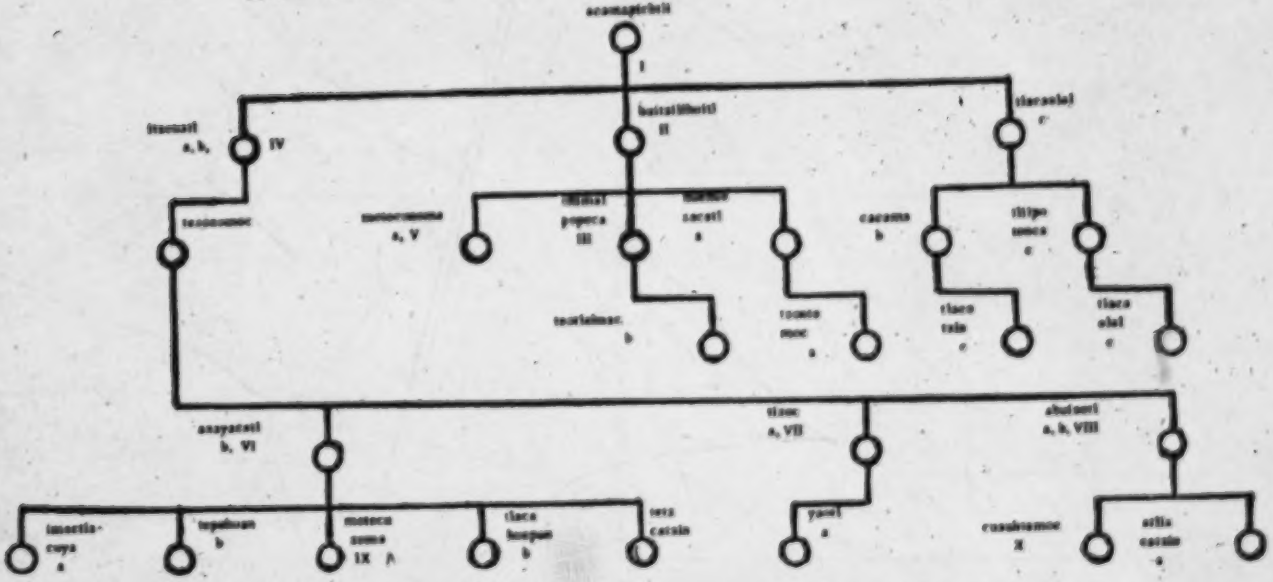

Altepetl Tenochtitlan with four campans
Calpulli with several tlaxilacallis
Campan with several calpullis
Tlaxilacalli with several families

The closeness of each person to his predecessors of clan, sub-clan, group of clans, or tribe is represented in the diagram by the closeness to the vertex of each pyramid. This closeness determined his rank. The diagram also shows the relative rank of each group of relatives as a whole according to their closeness to the vertex of the corresponding pyramid.

9:Monzon.-79 E-4 (no date) 1949 NU7 Aztec NU7
Y 618
.S65

DIAGRAM OF THE KINSHIP OF THE TENOCHCAN RULERS

THE ROMAN NUMERALS INDICATE THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY WERE TOATOANIS OR SUPREME CHIEFS.
(a) INDICATES THEY WERE TLACATECATL
(b) INDICATES THEY WERE TLACOCHCALCATL
(c) INDICATES THEY WERE CUHUACOATL



1. THE DATA WERE TAKEN FROM VARIOUS SOURCES, PRINCIPALLY FROM THE CHART OF ADRIÁN P. LEÓN M. THE DIVERGENCES WITH OTHER SOURCES DO NOT INVALIDATE THE OBVIOUS CONCLUSION THAT THE PRINCIPAL TENOCHCAN RULERS WERE RELATIVES.

X 618 ●565 —who also had their calpulli as we have seen—obliges us to think of differences in rank between the calpullis themselves: a thing furthermore which we had already encountered on speaking of the division of labor by calpullis (see p. 49). We can obtain data to complement the above and see what the situation was in this respect. The most [443] noble clan would undoubtedly be the clan to which the rulers of the entire Tenochca group belonged, who were always related by marriage (see the Table of Tenochcan rulers), and of this still more noble would be the tlaxilacalli of the very tlatoani; and even more, the most noble family would be the tlatoani's own family.

We have seen that not all the calpullis had a calmecac ("place of the lineage of the house" and a school for nobles) but that there were only six. Acosta also confirms this for us (14). The meaning of this .

14. Acosta, José de, p. 89.

is very clear: certainly these six calpullis were more noble than the other calpullis. One of them would be that one already cited as the most noble; but the five remaining would be others in a position surely inferior but which followed it in rank. The rest /p. 78/ of the clans would surely have an inferior position to these five clans, forming as a whole a true pyramid of clans of different categories, rank or nobility.

We are also told that each one of the four large "wards" had a chief, as did each one of the calpullis (15). As we have seen also

15. Torquemada, I, p. 294.

that the chiefs of each campan were related to the other members of their campan (see p. 32) we can suspect the existence of a calpulli more noble than the others in each campan—four in all—which very probably were the four which had a calmecac. What is more, the campan where the most noble calpulli of the whole Tenochcan group was, would surely be more noble than the other three. The Tecuhtlis possibly were the most noble members of Tenochtitlan of each campan, who were paid tribute by the members of the Tenochcan group, but were foreign to their clan, like the tlacatecatl, the tlacochcalcatl, the tlatoani, etc., whose functions were very different but were connected to the life of the whole of the Tenochcan community.

X618 ●555 A schema can be made in which appear: the stratification of the campan in all Tenochtitlan, the stratification of calpullis in each campan, the stratification of tlaxilacallis in each calpulli, and finally the most noble family within each tlaxilacalli. It is an essentially clan like organization, although unitary. The calpulli resembles a cell of Tenochtitlan but Tenochtitlan probably had only about twenty such cells. Neither the social division of labor, nor territorial division, nor the ownership of land, nor social stratification by themselves completely explain this situation. However, it appears relatively simple if we consider it as a clan organization based on the difference of rank derived from the proximity of each one of the members of the Tenochcan group—to his calpulli ancestor, to his campan ancestor and to the common ancestor of the whole Tenochcan group.

/p. 79/

Chapter 9

THE POSSIBILITY OF OTHER INTERPRETATIONS

X618 The fact that all the inhabitants of Tenochtitlan belonged to calpullis, that the calpullis evinced all the characteristics of ambilateral clans with endogamous tendencies and "pyramiding," and that the ownership of land, the social division of labor, territorial division and social stratification were determined by the existence of these clans indicates to us that the society which the Spanish found in Tenochtitlan was "still" a society based on kinship through common descent, but with many traits of an economic character. There were of course relationships rising out of economic production: commerce, slavery, etc.; and it is certain that the social organization of Tenochtitlan was so complex because of the necessities which arose as much from the internal organization of an agricultural community with techniques of horticulture, with fertilization, irrigation, etc., as from the organization of a veritable empire, such as the Tenochcans had, and which included possibly communities with an economy based on irrigation, terracing, etc. (1) such as happened on a large scale in the typical

1. Armillas, Pedro, 1947.

oriental societies of the old world. But in any case it appears that in Mexico the social organization still did not exceed the limits imposed by the existence of groups corresponding to one of the clan types.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

a large patio, but in this house there was a hall so vast that it would easily hold more than three thousand persons, and it was so large that on the floor above (*i.e.* the roof) there was a terrace where thirty horsemen could have run a tilt as in a plaza."

Cortés in his second letter to the Emperor says:—

"There are many very large and fine houses in this City, and the reason of there being so many important houses is that all the Lords of the land who are vassals of the said Monteruma have houses in this City and reside therein for a certain time of the year, and in addition to this there are many rich Citizens who also possess very fine houses. All these houses in addition to having very fine and large dwelling rooms, have very exquisite flower gardens both on the upper apartments as well as down below."[1]

"The principal houses were of two stories, but the greater number of houses were of one storey only. The materials, according to the importance of the buildings, were tezontli[2] and lime, adobes[3] formed the walls plastered with lime, and in the suburbs and shores of the island (the houses were constructed) of reeds and straw, appropriate for the fishermen and the lower classes."[4]

I am strongly of opinion that the very simple style of construction of the houses of ancient Mexico still survives, and can be seen to-day in any of the villages in the neighbourhood, and a photograph of such houses is given facing page 48. There is, however, this difference, that nowadays the adobe walls of the houses are frequently left bare, while in ancient Mexico the walls were almost invariably covered with a highly burnished white plaster.

Of the external ornament or decoration of the more important houses or palaces we know nothing, as the destruction of the City was complete. If the ornamentation was elaborate we hear nothing about it from the conquerers, and it must in any case have been of plaster or some perishable material, otherwise some fragments of it would have survived. It seems therefore probable that the architectural decoration of the houses was of a very simple character, and that the more elaborate stone work was reserved for the teocallis and temples of their gods.

Notwithstanding the above qualifications, the ancient City of Tenochtitlan must have been a place of much beauty and even of considerable magnificence, and it could not have failed to make a vivid impression on the Spaniards, who, it must be remembered, until they set foot in Yucatan, two years earlier, had seen nothing better during the twenty-five years of exploration of America than the houses

[1] Cortés' second letter.
[2] Tezontli, a volcanic stone, easily worked, of a beautiful dull red colour.
[3] Adobes, sun-dried bricks.
[4] Orozco y Berra, *Hist. de Mexico*, vol. iv., p. 281.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

no kind of dignity, was, among the Mexicans, transmissible by *in-* 701
heritance. Merit alone, *on the battlefield*, could promote to the rank 555
of war-chief, by inducing and influencing the *elections* held for that purpose.[83] The civil-chief ("Tecuhtli," from "Tecul," *grandfa-* 565
ther) secured his office through rigorous religious observances and 643
age.[84] *There was no nobility of any kind at Mexico*, the chief being chief only as long as he was by his constituents deemed worthy of that position.[85]

Above the common warrior ("yaoquizqui") there were two 701
classes of superiors: the distinguished braves, and the war-chiefs proper.

Of the distinguished and meritorious braves, which had not, however, attained the chieftainship, we know three different kinds: the "fierce cutters," or "beasts of prey" ("Tequihua"), the "strong eagles," or "old eagles" ("Cuachic," or "Cuachimec"), and the "wandering arrows" ("Otomitl").[86] These titles were 701
merely honorific, and could be obtained exclusively through the 554
capture, in actual combat, of one or more prisoners. In token of these dignities the hair of the head was cropped closely over the ear; they wore, chiefly, but not exclusively, the masks or helmets

[83] Anonymous Conqueror (p. 371) "They used to reward highly those who distin-
"guished themselves in war by any valorous action, for even if he was the vilest slave,
"they made him captain and lord, and gave to him slaves, and esteemed him so much,
"that wherever he went they attended to him and paid him such regards as if he had
"been the chief himself."

[84] Mendieta (Lib. II, caps. XXXVIII and XXXIX). Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de
"Pièces, etc.," "Des cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient
"un tecle." Zurita ("Rapport, etc.:" p. 47). "The chiefs who, as we have said, were
"called Toc Tècutacin, or Teutley, held their office only during life-time." (p. 49.) "If
"one of them died, the prince gave the office to one who had proven himself worthy of
"it, for the sons of the deceased did not inherit of his dignity, unless they had been
"invested with it."

[85] See, further on, the case of the last Montezuma.

[86] These definitions we give for what they may be worth, without in the least insisting upon their absolute correctness. "Tequihua" may derive from "nitla-tequi," to cut, or from "tequani," wild beast. "Cuachic," from "cuauhtli," eagle, and "chicactic," an old man, or a strong object, or, also (though this is hardly probable), "chimalli," shield. "Otomitl" probably derives from "N. otoca," to travel, and "mitl," arrow. But this was also the name given to the "Otomies," a well-known savage tribe, expert hunters, found scattered over Mexico, among or around the sedentary Indians. It looks strange for the Mexicans to give to one of their meritorious braves the title of a wandering horde, far below the Mexicans in culture. But the Otomies were good hunters, skilled in the use of the bow, and it is therefore likely that they were named thus by the Mexicans themselves, and that their name is not, as Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg intimates, derived from a supposed god, "Odon," or "Oton" ("Popol Vuh," Introd., pp. 76 and 110). The Otomi word for God was "Oqhá," their word for man, "na nyéhé" ("Grammatica ragionata della Lingua Otomi," of Count Piccolomini, Rome, 1861, after Neve y Molina).

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

The war-chiefs proper furnished the higher commanders of the Mexicans. We meet with three classes thereof in ascending orders. The chiefs of *kindred*, or *captains;* also chief of the "*minor quarters.*" The chiefs of the great subdivisions (*principal quarters*); also mentioned as "captain-generals." The head war-chief of the *tribe*, or so-called "king." All these chiefs were *elected*, and their office was not transmissible by inheritance.[90]

The captains, "commanders of the quarters,"[91] teachers of the young "men,"[92] properly called "elder brothers"[93] ("*teachcauhtin*," or "achcacauhtin," and "tiacanes," by corruption), commanded the subdivisions of two to four hundred men each, com-

these subdivisions had its peculiar place of sitting in the official house, or "tecpan" (the "palace" of the older sources. Tecpan derives from "tecuhtli," chief, and "pan," affixum denoting a place), since, at a general council of the tribe (of which this may be an indication), the different grades of warriors would naturally cluster together. But the names given to these three "orders" are erroneous. "Achcauhtin" (which, as we shall see, never meant *princes*, for which the Mexicans had no adequate word) was the title of a class of war-chiefs only. "Quauhtin" is the "Cuachic," "ocelotl" evidently the "tequihua." But the last two titles were never used for the higher grades of warriors except in a general way; "quauhtin-ocelotl" designated the valorous braves in general (Torquemada, Lib. XI. cap. XXIX, p. 392; lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 537), and corresponds to the "daring eagles, tigers, and lions," as Tezozomoc often calls the three grades now under discussion.

Torquemada, who, notwithstanding his unquestionable credulity, is extremely important on all questions of Mexican antiquities, says (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543): "Los Capitanes tenian por insignia de honra una labor, etc., etc., ... guarnecidas, con "pinturas, e' insignias, conforme cada uno havia mostrado el valor, y valentia en las "guerras, en que se havia hallado, porque no sacaba otra cosa del peligro de ellas; y "asi como cosa ganada, por sus proprias personas, las estimaban en mucho." Every one had to gain his own rank, merit his own title.

[90] All these offices were elective, and we shall endeavor to prove it in each particular case.

[91] Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de pieces relatives à la conquête du Mexique." Anonymous MS8. from the Uguina collection, headed "De l'ordre de succession observé "par les Indiens relativement a leurs terres et de leurs territoires communaux," p. 225) says: "Les tribunaux de ces officiers étaient établis dans la capitale." Clavigero calls them "princes." Torquemada: "captain of the guards." Sahagun: "old men." Mendieta, even: "chief abbott." This very confusion shows that neither of them paid much attention to the subject, since Sahagun also calls the "tiacauh" (which is the same as "achcacauhtin") "el hombre valiente" (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 303), and Torquemada the "achcauhtli," "alguacil mator." Tezozomoc alone is consistent with himself, in mentioning the "achcacauhtin," frequently, as *leaders in the fight*, commanding the three grades of distinguished braves (Cap. XXXVIII). He is confirmed by Molina (I, p. 23), who translates "teachcauhtin" as "capitan de gente." Tezozomoc further calls them: "principals, masters at arms, and of doctrine and example" (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 61), "chiefs of the quarters, masters of the youth" (Cap. LVII).

[92] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVIII and cap. LVII).

[93] Molina (II. p. 113), "tiachcauh,"—"hermano mayor, y persona, o cosa aventajada, "mayor, y mas excelente que otra." Zurita ("Rapport," p. 60) calls the "chiefs of the calpullis" major parents ("pariente mayor"). This corresponds with the definition of Molina.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

however, was not changed, and no hereditary rights of property were called into existence in favor of the chiefs or their descendants.[19]

For nearly a century after the first settlement of the Mexicans

[19] No mention is made of any tax or tribute gathered for official purposes among the Mexicans until under the last Montezuma, when it is generally admitted, as Gomara says: "That all tributed to the chief of Mexico" ("Conq. de Méjico," p. 345, Vedia, I). Without accepting the views expressed by Robertson ("History of America," Book VII, p. 291. Vol. III, 9th Edition, 1800), who ascribes to the influence of Montezuma a change in the plan of government of the Mexican tribe,—it still appears but natural that as long as the tribe was weak in numbers and resources, the original or typical form of communal institutions prevailed, whereas with increased population and consequent increase of governmental labor the members of the tribe were compelled to provide for the maintenance of their officers and their families. The first step was to cultivate such patches of land for them as they held being members of some calpulli. These lands were the "pillali," commonly treated of as "patrimonial estates." Torquemada, however, says (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546): "Another kind of lands they called pillali, or, so to say: Lands of Knights ("hidalgos") or nobles. Of these there were two kinds. In the first case the land was inherited with the nobility, and in the other, the chief gave lands to such as had achieved distinction and valor in war, and were ennobled therefor. To these the chief gave lands for their sustenance, but they could not hold renters ("terrazgueros") but might sell to other chiefs, as if the conditional gift from the chief had not existed: and neither of these two classes could dispose of their tracts to any macehual (common man—perhaps from "maitl"—hand, and "cenalli"—shade,—the hand of some one who gives protection or shade), for in that case they lost them, and the chief entered in their possession. *and they were applied to the calpulli in whose area they were located, in order that the said cluster might pay tribute according to the quantity of land contained;*—also, if any one of them died without heirs, the chief inherited" Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "These were lands which went with the Lordship, and which they called lands of the Lordship, and of these the Lords could not dispose, but rented them as they might and the *rents were used in the house of the King, because there, besides all the principals, also ate the travellers, and the paupers*, for which service the Kings were much honored and obeyed. What these rents did not furnish, was supplied by their patrimonial estates." Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195). "For the present we shall but say, that in each pueblo and place there was a tract of land of best quality, which was of the Kings or Lord of the estate . . . . . For the sowing and working of these lands the calpixque, an officer of the republic (state) in each pueblo, daily designated the common people who had to work them, and all the fruit belong integrally to the chief *for the maintenance of his house.*" Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim. cap. XXXV, pp. 242, 243 and 244). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Part III, cap. V, p. 234, etc.). Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat." lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 558, of 3d vol.) Now we have already established, that individual tenure of the soil was unknown, it is further proved that the offices were non-hereditary, we cannot fail, therefore, to recognize. 1°. In the "pillali" of Torquemada the original "chinampa" held by chiefs as members of a kinship.

2°. In the tracts of Herrera and Veytia "official lands," specially reserved for the grants of official houses and their occupants. These lands went "with the office."

No date can be assigned to the introduction of this new feature among the Mexicans but we cannot help being struck by the fact that the Tezcucan chroniclers make special mention of it, connecting it with the time when Nezahualcoyotl became chief of Tescoco (See Ixtlilxochitl "Hist. des Chichim." cap. XXXV. Veytia, Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 196. Bustamante, Part III, cap. V). The connection is *implied* rather than *expressed*, and but *excuses* the suggestion: that such a change might have occurred about the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Of course we allude here to the Mexicans alone, and not to the tribes of the mainland.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

tion here, because of its unveiling, so to say, the full organization of the ancient Mexicans as they preserved it until the time of their downfall. 174 631

Upon the occasion of the division of spoils gathered from the defeated Tecpanecas, and of the establishment of regular tribute, there appear the following war captains and leaders of the Mexicans, as representatives of the latter's organization. 174 642

The "chief of men."

Four captains of the four principal quarters of Mexico.

Twenty war-chiefs of as many kins composing the tribe.

One chief representing the element of worship, or "medicine."

The "Snake-woman."[54]

gard to the date of its occurrence, *Bancroft* (Vol. V, p. 395), says about, or immediately after, 1431, following Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. III, p. 251), 1426, *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. Chichimeca*." Cap. XXXII, p. 217), also 1431, *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 165) 1431, The "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*" (Kingsb., Vol. I, p. 7, and Vol. VI, p. 138), has it 7, "Tochtli" or 1404.

[54] *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 96). Besides distributing land "juntamente con darce y repartiros las tierras que aveis ganado, para que tengais renta para el sustento de vuestros estados y personas segun el mérito dellas," he gave them "ditados" or titles "y (quiere) haceros señores de titulo" (the latter would be to make them noblemen). I must advert here that "ditado o titulo de honra" is expressed in the Mexican language by "tecuyotl" "tlatocaxotl" "maniçotl" (*Molina*, "*Vocabulario*," Part I, p. 46). These words however mean but, respectively "chieftainship," "speakership," and "honor," (the latter see *Molina* II, p. 54), all of them terms which, as we shall hereafter see, apply to *personal merit*, and not to hereditary privilege among the Mexican aborigines. Durán then proceeds (p. 97) to give these titles as follows:— 565 618

"Primeramente á su general dió por ditado				*Tlacochcalcatltecutli.*
A Veue Motençuma, Tlacaelel tzin dió por ditado				*Tlacatecatl.*
A Tlacaxpan,	d.	p.	d.	*Ezuahuacatl.*
A Cuatlecoatl,	d.	p.	d.	*Tlillancalqui.*
A Veneçacan,	d.	p.	d.	*Tezcacoacatl.*
A Aztacoatl,	d.	p.	d.	*Tocuiltecatl.*
A Canaltzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Acolnahuacatl.*
A Tzompantzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Huiteuctli.*
A Epcotlnatzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Temilotzin.*
A Citlalcoatzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Tecpanecatl.*
A Tlaxcloc,	d.	p.	d.	*Calmimeloleatl.*
A Izcuetlatoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Mexicaltecutli.*
A Cuauhtzitzimitl,	d.	p.	d.	*Huitznauatl.*
A Xiconoc,	d.	p.	d. y renombre,	*Tepanecatltecutli.*
A Tlazoltecutl,	d.	p.	d.	*Quetzalcoatl.*
A Axicyotzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Teuctlamacazqui.*
A Ixnantliloc,	d.	p.	d.	*Tlapaltecatl.*
A Mecantzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Cuauhyauacatl.*
A Tenamaztli,	d.	p.	d.	*Coatecatl.*
A Tzontemoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Pantecatl.*
A Tlacacochtoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Huecamecatl.*

To these he adds (pp. 98 and 99), five more, namely: *Quauhnochtecutli, Cuauhquiauacatl, Tepicaltecutli, Cuitlauatl, and Itcotecatl.* The three last were from Culhuacan. Adding to this the "chief of men" himself, who was "Flint-Snake," or

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 618 The existence of *twenty* autonomous consanguine groups is thus revealed, and we find them again at the time of the conquest,

●565 618 "Obsidian-Snake" (*Itzcohuatl*), we have twenty-five chiefs in all. Now we cannot fail to notice:—

[701]

(1). "Itzcohuatl," the "chief of men" or head-war-chief.

(2). "Tlacochcalcatl," "Tlacatecatl," "Ezhuahuacatl," and "Cuauhnochtli," the four military leaders of the four great quarters ("phratries") of Tenuchtitlan. (See "*Art of War*," pp. 120, 131, and 122, also notes 97 to 101 inclusive.)

(3). "Tlilancalqui"—"Man of the black-house," a chief connected with "medicine" or worship, as I shall hereafter show. He was rather a counsellor or advisor, than a captain, as *Acosta* (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441), and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II. cap. XIX, p. 75) positively state, whereas *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 104) asserts the religious origin of his office.

(4). "Tlacaellel," who, as Durán and Tezozomoc both repeatedly and plainly assert, was the snake-woman or "Cihuacohuatl." In this instance, however, he is graced with the title of "man of the house of darts" ("Tlacochcalcatl"), and thus made one of the four leaders of the "phratries." This is an evident mistake, as the latter title belonged to Montezuma (the first, or "old one"). Compare *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVI, p. 140; cap. XLIII, p. 156, where he is called "captain-general"), *Vetancurt* (Part II, Trat. I, cap. XV, p. 296), also *Durán* (Lam. 8a, Parte 1a).

(5). Twenty war-chiefs, each one of whom commanded the warriors of one kin or calpulli, hence they were the military leaders of twenty Mexican kins. Besides the indications to that effect furnished by *Durán* (Cap. XXVII, p. 224), "á los señorés de los *calpules* no los vimos ni nos hablaron," said the sorcerers which had been sent to Huitzilopochtli's mother, after she had asked them about the chiefs or captains, seven in number, which had led the Mexicans originally, (see note 33). *Tezozomoc* ("Crónica," Cap. XV, pp. 24 and 25), while corroborating the statements of Durán (with the exception that he omits the chief "Mexicatltecutli," and thus gives only twenty-seven chieftains), inserts the following explanation about these twenty (or twenty-one after Durán) captains: "After these four (the four first ones), go the Tlacanes, called valorous soldiers, surnamed captains." The "Tlacan" or "tlacauh," properly "teachcauhtin," *Elder brother*, was the military chief of each "barrio" or "calpulli," therefore of each *kin* ("*Art of War*," p. 119, notes 91, 92, and 93), consequently these twenty chieftains represent here as many consanguine relationships composing the tribe of the ancient Mexicans.

It will be noticed, however, that Durán has twenty-one chiefs, whereas we assume but twenty, according to Tezozomoc. The latter omits "Mexicatl-tecutli" and, perhaps properly too. This word signifies but "Mexican chief," in general, and cannot therefore well be the title of one particular leader. It recurs occasionally in the course of Mexican history. Still, this is only a suggestion on my part, for the matter is far from being proven. *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 571) mentions "*Mexicatl-achcauhtli*" among the chiefs who went with Quauhtemotzin before Cortés on the day after the resistance of the Mexicans had ended. Again Tezozomoc mentions two chiefs of the same title "Cuauhquianacatl," as also does Durán. Now this would be impossible, since Tezozomoc calls the second one of that name, a son of "Cuauhnochtli." It may be now that the latter author has omitted the "Mexicatl-tecutli," and that "Cuauhquianacatl" is to be counted but once. It results from the statements of Vetancurt already alluded to, that there were twenty Mexican "calpulli," consequently there were but twenty leaders of kins. The analogy between these "barrios" and the chiefs of Durán and Tezozomoc is greatly increased by the fact that for the three chiefs of Culhuacan mentioned by the latter, we have also three barrios of "Otomites," therefore, in each case but seventeen original kins of Mexicans proper (*Vetancurt* "Crónica," Vol. III, p. 132).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

while their last vestiges were perpetuated until after 1690, when Fray Augustin de Vetancurt mentions four chief quarters with their original Indian names, comprising and subdivided into *twenty* "barrios." Now the Spanish word "Barrio" is equivalent to the Mexican term "calpulli." Both indicate the kin, localized and settled with the view to permanence.[55]

What is often conceived as the establishment of a vast feudal monarchy at the time just treated of, resolves itself therefore into two very plain features. One of these consists in the establishment of the confederacy, the other is but the appearance in broad daylight of the peculiar organization of aboriginal society among the Mexicans. Thus we have no sudden change of base, no revolution in the institutions of the tribe; the only progress achieved consisted in the extension of inter-tribal relations and in their assuming the shape of a military partnership.

The year 1473 witnessed another event which seemed to affect

All these titles were permanent, though not hereditary, as it is plainly seen in the case of the four leaders of the four "phratries" about which *Sahagun* says: (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318) "The chief elected, forthwith they elected others four which were like senators that always had to be by his side .... (these four had different names in different places) ...." *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103). "To these four lords and titularies, after they were elected princes, they made them of the royal council, like presidents and members ("oydores") of the supreme council, without whose opinion nothing should be done. When the king died, his successor had to be taken from those, neither could any others but brothers or sons of kings be clothed with these dignities. Thus if one of these was elected, they put another in his place. We must know that they never put a son of him who had been elected ("King") or of the deceased, since, as it has been said, the sons never succeeded (in office) by inheritance, to the titles or lordships, but through election. Therefore, whether son, brother, or cousin, if elected by the king and those of his council, to that dignity, it was given to him,—it being sufficient his being of that lineage and near relative, and so the sons and brothers went on inheriting gradually, little by little .... and the title and lordship never went outside of that descendancy ("generation" also kin), being filled by election, little by little."

The other titles are frequently met with up to the time of the conquest, as a few instances will abundantly prove. Assuming, with the majority of authors, the date of 1431, for that of the formation of the confederacy, we meet, during the unlucky foray of the confederates against Michhuacan, about fifty years later, with the following war-chiefs of the Mexicans. Tescacoatl, Huitznahuacatl, and Quetzaltocatl (*Tezcucana*, Cap. LII, pp. 94 and 95), also Coatecatl (Cuauhtecatl). At the time of Cortés' first arrival off the coast (1518) we meet in the council of Mexico with Huitznahuacatl, Hueyeamecatl (*Torquemada*, Lib. IV, cap. XIII, p. 379). Finally when, after the resistance of the Mexicans had ceased, Cortés assembled all the chiefs in his presence, we again meet with Huitznahuatl, Mexicatltecuhtli, Teuctlamacazqui (*Torquemada*, Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 571). Evidence of this kind could be produced in profusion, but it would only increase unnecessarily the size of this annotation. Compare the titles of the Iroquois sachemships in *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, Cap. V, pp. 130 and 131).

[55] Compare note 50. Also *Molina* (Parte I, p. 18), and others.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

a revolution before the advent of Europeans. We are consequently, by this investigation of the history of aboriginal Mexico, justified in claiming the state of its society to be as yet exclusively tribal.

Tribal society presupposes equality of rights among all members of the kins composing the tribe. Hence it follows that "caste" and hereditary rank could not exist, that there could not be any division, among the ancient Mexicans, into higher and lower classes, into "nobles" and "common people," or into hereditary professions or vocations like "priests," "warriors," "merchants," "artisans," and "tillers of the soil." In vindication however of our assertion, which might otherwise appear as too sweeping, we may be permitted here to dwell at some greater length on this particular question.

Nobility is based upon hereditary privilege of some kind. Either it consists in landed property with hereditability of title and (at least originally) office, or in a hereditary charge alone, or privilege or power over others transmitted with the blood. While the former has become more usually known and is therefore regarded as characteristic, the latter, always accompanied by "loose wealth" at least, is still found among pastoral nations.[62] It may even have been the incipient form of the other. Now, among the ancient Mexicans, we have seen that:—

1. The notion of abstract ownership of the soil, in any shape, had not yet arisen.

2. Individuals, whatever might be their position or office, without any exception, had but a right to use certain tracts, and no possessory rights, even, to land were attached to any office or dignity.

3. No office itself, whether of the kin or tribe, was hereditary in any family, since the Mexican family, as such, was yet in but a nascent state.[63]

4. Furthermore loose property was subject to such diminutions occasioned by the mode of worship,[64] and especially of burial,[65]

[62] The Arabs for instance. See *Kremer* ("*Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islam*").

[63] For these three points see "*Tenure of Lands*" in general, and pp. 447–48 in particular.

[64] *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. IV, p. 31). "Otros trabajaban y adquirian dos ó tres años cuanto podian, para hacer una fiesta al demonio, y en ella no solo gastaban cuanto tenian, mas aun se adendaban, de manera que tenian que servir y trabajar otro año y aun otros dos para salir de deuda; . . ."

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

that it could not accumulate so as to exert any influence in the hands and in behalf of any individual or of his immediate relatives.

Consequently, aboriginal Mexico could have neither nobility nor patriciate, and when such a privileged class does not exist, it is useless to seek for another to which the term "unprivileged" or "common" can be applied.

In a future essay we shall attempt to prove that the Mexicans had no hereditary caste of "medicine men" or priests. We have elsewhere shown that there was no caste of warriors.[66] The mode of Tenure and distribution of the soil precludes all possibility of the existence of a permanent class of "tillers." It yet remains to cast a glance at the so-called artisans, and at the traders or "merchants."

Neither of these two professions were held to personal improvement of their garden lots ("tlalmilli") but, like officers, they could have them improved by others under their names and for their benefit.[67] The statement of Zurita "that a quarter was composed of all kinds of people"[68] disposes of the opinion, that such quarters contained each but members *practising a single trade*. Thus there was no geographical agglomeration by professions.[69] Again, no rule existed enforcing or establishing hereditament in kind of work, or manner of sustenance. The son might embrace, at his choice, his father's occupation, but *nothing*

[66] Compare the burial rites of the Mexicans as reported by the majority of old sources.

[67] "*Art of War*" (p. 96, notes 8, 9, 40). *Zurita* "*Rapport*," (p. 48), "Ils étaient tenus seulement au service militaire, pour lequel aucune excuse n'était admise."

[68] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 426, note 96). Consult the authorities therein quoted.

[69] "*Rapport*" (p. 224).

[70] It is mostly on the authority of *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, vol. II), that the settlement by professional clusters is admitted. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 262 and 263, "*Duodécima Relacion*," p. 326, Kingsborough, Vol. IX) also says that, at Texcuco, each profession had its own quarter in the pueblo. But an attentive reading of the first author named (Cap. XVIII, p. 302), where he treats of the featherworkers "De los oficiales que labran pluma, que hacen plumajes, y otras cosas de la misma," satisfies us at once of the fact, that the venerable author only refers to worship of certain idols in a certain quarter, and not to compulsory residence therein, of certain kinds of working men. Nowhere does he say that the "Amantecas" were *all* featherworkers. He mentions a barrio "Amatlan" or "Amantla." Might it be the "Amanalco" of Vetancurt? Compare also *Torquemada* (Lib. VI, cap. XXX, pp. 89 and 90), *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. XII, pp. 67 and 68). "*El conquistador Anónimo*" (Col. de Doc. Vol. I). "Le piazze de i mercati," (pp. 296 and 298), although concerning the markets exclusively. *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, p. 138, cap. 138), "i estos andaban por los Barrios, porque en ellos havia de todo género de gentes." Copied after Zurita *Vetancurt* (Part II, Trat. I, cap. IV), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. LI, p. 361).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

441 pomp, second only to that of the tribal forces returning from a
527 successful campaign or foray. The traders went first to the central place of worship, there to stoop before the idols in token of adoration. From the great "medicine-lodge" the band repaired to the "tecpan," where they met the council of the tribe and its leading officers. Sometimes in presence of a concourse of people, and again if required, in "secret session" the traders communicated, for the benefit of the tribe, any results of their explorations. After this their particular quarters gave them appropriate receptions also, and in some instances even the whole tribe celebrated their return with solemn dances, and a distribution of victuals corresponding to what in our time would be called a popular feast.

439 In order to realize the substantial results of such expeditions
441 we must bear in mind, that whatever they brought back had to
556 be carried by men. As already intimated, the number of these men was limited. They could not, without jeopardizing the object of their mission or enterprise, take large bodies of assistants along. Besides, as these assistants also had to carry their own food, providing for many journeys through uncultivated ("neutral") wastes, this also restricted the amount of material brought home. However precious that material might be to the Mexican tribe, it was certainly limited in quantity. Finally, custom demanded that the most highly priced articles should be offered up to worship, to the stores of the tribe and of the kins. Little material gain therefore, remained to the courageous travellers themselves. The proceeds of their enterprise were largely for the benefit of the community and the reward bestowed upon them by that community rather than the profits derived from any traffic, composed the personal gain of the participants. This reward consisted of presents out of the public stores, and especially in the marks of distinction bestowed upon them.

441 Thus the so-called "merchants" of ancient Mexico became
556 equivalent to distinguished braves, and their deeds entitled them
565 frequently to the rank of chiefs. But if, on one hand, they had no opportunity to secure anything like personal wealth, on the other the rewards of merit did not attach to their offspring. No *class* of traders, no *caste* of merchants, can therefore have existed, and if a certain well-earned consideration attached itself to the person of those who embraced occasionally such a hazardous

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

and important occupation, this consideration did not go beyond the persons themselves, and was in proportion to the value of the achievements.[78]

[78] *Prescott* ("*Conquest*," Book I, cap. V, p. 147). *Bancroft* (Vol. II, cap. XII, p. 387, etc.). *Bastian* ("Culturlaender," Vol. II, pp. 697 and 698) and others like *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Histoire des Nations civilisées du Mézique et de l'Amérique Centrale*," 1857–1859, Paris, Vol. III, p. 612, etc.), have given more or less detailed descriptions of the Mexican mode of traffic and commerce. Among the older sources, and those which necessarily formed the basis of my imperfect sketch, the leading position is occupied by *Father Sahagun* (Lib. IX, Vol. II, "*Historia general de la Cosas de Nueva-España*). From these statements we gather, what has already been said (note 56), that the Tlatilulca were the leading traders (Cap. I, pp. 335, 336), and that they were organized and directed by particular chiefs of their own. The venerable father is not very clear in the matter of these particular officers, as (Cap. I) he names first two (p. 335), then five (p. 337, cap. II), and lastly (Lib. X, cap. XVI, p. 40), one: "Señor ó Principal entre ellos," whom he calls: "pochtecatlailotlac, ó acxótecatl, que es tanto, como si dijésemos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y estos dos nombres y otros muchos que están puestos en la letra, se atribuyen al que es mayor principal gobernador ó señor ó que es casi padre y madre de todos los mercaderes." (Lib. IX, cap. III, pp. 348 and 349), he speaks of "the principals," "los mercaderes viejos" as "speakers of the traders" "pochtecatlatoque." Further on (Cap. X, p. 372), he speaks of the "pochtecatlailotlac" as the principals. We must infer from this that there were a *number of these leading traders*, and not one chief of the "caste." This evidence or rather indication of a possible separate organization is not noticed by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII, p. 566), who simply speaks of the "old traders who remained at the pueblo." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXXVIII, pp. 526 and 527) merely mentions the older and the younger traders, but says nothing of a peculiar organization. It is singular, besides, that those authors or more properly chroniclers, in whose annals of Mexican warfare the Mexican traders play a very conspicuous part, make no mention at all of this peculiar caste-like organization which Sahagun seems to imply. Those authors are *Durán* and *Tezozomoc*. (In this instance I need not resort to detailed quotations, since the references in their works are far too numerous). Furthermore, *Zurita*, who is very detailed in his "*Rapport*," or rather as the full title has it "*Breve y Sumaria Relacion de los Señores, y maneras y diferencias que había de ellas en la Nueva España*," while enumerating carefully the different kinds of chiefs and officers, is rather reticent about any such organization of the merchants. Compare for instance, p. 222, where he distinctly says that, they had a chief to treat with the "Lords and governors" in their name, and p. 240, where he incidentally mentions a "chief of the merchants" only. *Sahagun* goes further yet, however, in stating (Lib. IX, cap. V, pp. 356 and 357), that the merchants had their own jurisdiction over themselves, apart from that of the tribe or kin: 'y los señores mercaderes que regian á los otros, tenian por su jurisdicion y judicatoria, y si alguno de estos hacian algun delito, no los llevaban delante de los senadores á que ellos los juzgasen; sino que estos mismos que eran señores de los otros mercaderes juzgaban las causas de todos por sí; si alguno incurria en pena de muerte ellos le sentenciaban, y mataban ó en la carcèl, ó en su casa, ó en otra parte segun que lo tenian de costumbre." This he distinctly applies to the "pochtecas" of Tlatilulco, and to the time when "wrathy chief" (Montezuma the last), was at the head of the Mexicans. Not content with this he relates (Cap. II, pp. 330–342), how the merchants of Tlatilulco alone conquered several tribes, subjecting them to tribute for the benefit of the Mexicans. In all these statements Father Sahagun stands quite alone, and, if not directly contradicted, he is, at least so unsupported as to make his reports rather doubtful so far as they concern the organization and power of these traders as a distinct class. The story has a suspiciously Tlatilulcan coloring. Compare note 56. It is interesting to note, in connection with this, that Sahagun derived the information, the which he laid down in his "Historia general," almost exclusively

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

565 After this review of the question of stratification, so to say, among the ancient Mexicans, it may appear strange on our part

441 556 565 from *Tlatilulcan sources* ("Prologo," pp. 4 and 5, Vol. I). This diminishes necessarily in this instance, the value of his otherwise very full and highly important testimony.

The existence of such a body, powerful through wealth as well as through mental and intellectual faculties would, even as much as nobility, at once have destroyed the tribe as such, by breaking up the kins. The inconsistency of such a picture with the historical facts is glaring, and is shown even by the statements of modern writers. Compare for instance, Mr. H. H. Bancroft's statement of the condition of Tlatilulco after its capture by the Mexicans (Vol. V, p. 431), "heavy tributes were imposed, including many special taxes and menial duties of a humiliating nature" with his description of the state of its "merchant princes" (Vol. II, pp. 360 and 361). One fact is evident: if the traders formed occasionally, for certain purposes, clusters of their own, they selected their own leaders or directors and this was the case with trading expeditions as well as with feasts. See on feasts: *Sahagun*, Lib. IX, cap. III to XIV inclusive, Lib. I, cap. XIX, pp. 29 to 33. *Motolinia*, Trat. I, cap. VIII, p. 47. *Acosta*, Lib. V, cap. XXIX, p. 369, etc. *Torquemada*, Lib. VI, cap. XXVIII, pp. 57 and 58. Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII, pp. 386 and 387. *Clavigero*, Lib. VI, cap. VII, p. 360. Lib. VII, cap. XXXVIII, p. 536, etc., and others. But as to any separate, permanent government [681] of their own, this rests exclusively upon the authority of Sahagun, whereas it is amply proven, on the other hand, that any crime committed in trade or barter, was summarily disposed of by the regular officers of the kin or tribe without regard to the traders or merchants. We shall furnish the evidence in regard to this point in another note.

[618] That the "pochtecas" occupied but one calpulli, that of Pochtlan, is also disproved, and even by *Sahagun* himself (Lib. I. cap. XIX. p. 31). "En este calpulli donde se contaba el mercader." (Lib. IX, cap. III. p. 347): "respondiante los mercaderes principales de los barrios que son uno que se llama Pochtlan, otro Aoachtlan, *y* otro Atlauhco como está en la letra"). (Cap. III, p. 349) "convidaban á solos los mercaderes de su barrio; pues el que habia de ir por capitan de la compañia de los que iban, no solamente convidaba á los de su barrio, sino tambien á los que habian de ir con él." Also by *Durán* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 223 and 234).

Lastly the question of wealth amassed in such quantities as to become an influential power in the merchants' hands, is also summarily disposed of by *Sahagun*. However often he speaks of riches gathered by them, the following quotations show how it must be understood: (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 338, Speech of one of the traders) "Cuando lleguemos á nuestro tierra, será tiempo de usar los barbotes de ambar, y las oregeras que se llaman quetzalcoyolnacohtli, y los aventaderos y ojeadores de moscas, las mantas ricas que hemos de traer, y los maxtles preciados, solo esto será nuestra paga, y la señal de nuestra valentia," (p. 341) "y que las otras preseas que les dió que arriba se dijéron, solo ellos las usasen en las grandes fiestas . . . ." It thus appears that hoarding of any actual wealth was not to be expected. The lack of currency alone made it almost impossible for want of space, and gold and silver being only used for ornamental purposes and as a part of "medicine," we should mistake in expecting anything like "treasures." Here, as anywhere else, the supply was regulated by the demand, and this demand was in turn created by the numbers of the population, and by the use made of the metal. Since the latter was used only in a few ways, this had its effect on the amount also. Another cause, which is not sufficiently estimated, is found in the fact that carriers had to be used for everything, including food. Now, even if thousands went along (of which there is hardly any proof), the load of each [482] hardly exceeded sixty pounds: "y daban á cada uno de estos que tenian alquilados, para que llevasen aquestas la carga que tenian señalada, y de tal manera las comparaban que no eran muy pesadas" (Cap. III, p. 350, Lib. IX). *Don Antonio de Mendoza* ("*Avis sur les prestations personnelles et les Tamemes*, 1er Recueil of Ternaux-Compans), says in 1550, "They must not carry any loads heavier than two arrobas," or about fifty pounds. *Bartolomé de las Casas* ("*Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Yndias*," Venetia, 1643, Italian and Spanish, p. 101), complains of three to four arobas or

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

to concede, that nevertheless there were two very distinct classes within the area occupied by the tribe enjoying each a very different quality of rights. Now equality of rights is the fundamental principle of kinship;[79] if therefore there was a body connected with the tribe whose rights and privileges were inferior, it follows that the members of this body must have stood outside

565

seventy-five to one hundred pounds, as an excessive load. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XL., p. 359), sixty pounds. [482]

To conclude, I advert to the fact that the traders were held to tribute and especially to offerings for worship, as strictly as any other members of the tribe. I merely refer to *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVII. p. 136), who embodies in a few words the statements of other writers. *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. IV, p. 76), "No se desvelan en adquirir riquezas," and further on to p. 77; also (Trat. I, cap. IV, p. 31), "otros trabaja han y adquirian dos ó tres años cuanto podian, para hacer una fiesta al demonio, y en ella no solo gastaban cuanto tenian, mas aun se adeudaban". The picture of the trading expedition is mainly taken from *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, III, IV) and *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII). The reception only applies to cases of great importance. But every departure of a merchant as well as his return was feasted by the traders of his "barrio," sometimes with the concurrence of other barrios and of the chiefs and officers. 441 556 565

That, in consequence of their deeds, the merchants and traders were treated with distinction and created chiefs, follows from *Sahagun* (Lib. I, cap. XIX, pp. 30 and 31), "para que fuese honrado en el pueblo. y tenido per valiente: poniania un barbote de ámber, que es una piedra larga amarilla trasparente, que cuelga del beso bajo, ahujerado, en señal de que era valiente y era noble, y esto se tenia en mucho." But especially (Lib. IX, cap. II, pp. 338-341), "Estos mercaderes eran ya como caballeros, y tenian divisas particulares por sus hazañas"). "*Des Cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient un festin*" (Ternaux, 1er Recueil, pp. 235 and 234). The custom of giving the rank of chief ("tecuhtli") to traders remained after the conquest when the chief became transformed into the Spanish *hidalgo* in consequence of a misconception of the former dignity. This is shown plainly by the arch-bishop, *Fray Alonso de Montufar* ("*Supplique à Charles V en faveur des Macéhuales*, Mexico, 20 Nov. 1554, French translation by Mr. Ternaux, Appendix to his "*Cruautés horribles des Conquérants du Mérique*," p. 267). It was done to evade taxation.

The true position of the Mexican traders in their tribe and society is also stated plainly by *Sahagun* (Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 30): "Son estos mercaderes sufridores de muchos trabajos, y osados para entrar en todas las tierras (aunque sean las de enemigos) y muy astutos para tratar con los estraños, asi aprendiendo sus lenguas, como tratando con ellos con benevolencia para atraerlos asi con su familiaridad." (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 338) "pues que aunque nos llamamos mercaderes y lo parecemos, somos soldados que disimuladamente andamos á conquistar." (Id., p. 341) "Los dichos mercaderes del Tlalilolco se llaman tambien capitanes y soldados disimulados en hábito de mercaderes que andaban por todas partes." (p. 343) "Cuando quiera que el señor de Mexico queria enviar á los mercaderes, que eran capitanes y soldados disimulados á alguna provincia para que la atalayasen." *Burtin* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 228) "Ils jouissaient de certains privilèges, parceque leur profession était utile à l'état." This is textually copied by *Bustamante* ("Tezcoco," Parte IIIa, cap. V, p. 214). They were frequently but official spies and used as such, not only *by* the Mexicans, but *against* the Mexicans by foreign tribes. *Mendieta* (Lib. II. cap. XXVII, p. 130) copied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 556).

[79] *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II. cap. II, p. 85, in relation to Iroquois more particularly). Among the ancient Germans or Teutons, see *Heinrich Ludon* ("*Geschichte des teutschen Volkes*," 1825, Vol. I, Lib. III, cap. V, on the "*Gau*," pp. 422 and 423).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

565 of any connection by kin. This presupposes a *class of outcasts from the bond of kinship.*

There is no evidence of the formation of such a cluster prior to the permanent settlement of the tribe. Neither can we trace its gradual increase from a given time. But a glance at some of the rules of kinship, and at the practical working of these rules finally crystallizing into an equivalent for laws, will enable us to discern its origin.

121 The relation of sexes being at the bottom of society based upon kin, it follows that sexual intercourse gradually assumed a regulated shape, proportionate to the progress in institutions. The ancient Mexicans had, as we have already established, advanced into descent in the male line, and had secured a nascent state of the modern family. Marriage was well known to them
[58] as a *rule*. But so powerful was the influence exercised by the kin, as unit of public life that, once the ritual union of a couple acknowledged as a necessity for future joint life, it exacted of its male members the obligation to marry for the purpose of propagating and increasing the kin. Only such as were naturally helpless, and such as in view of "medicine" made vows of permanent
[58] chastity, were excused. Any other youth therefore, who refused to take a wife at the proper age, was treated with contempt and consequently expelled from the kin.[89]

562 Woman, among the aboriginal Mexicans, was in a singular predicament. Through the establishment of descent in the male line she lost her hold on public life, (which she latterly regained through the establishment of the family proper) and thus remained little else than a *chattel* in the power of man. Still, the ritual act
562 of marriage being once adopted, the same obligation to marry,
589 which we have already found incumbent upon the male, also devolved upon the female, and any girl therefore, who did not "take vows" for "medicine," or who was physically not mis-

[89] *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. V, p. 461). *Burtin* ("*Rapport*, etc.," pp 133 and 134) "s'ils ne voulaient pas prendre des femmes, on les congédiait." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 135), "Llegados á la edad de casarse, ... Si pasando la edad se descuidaban, y veian que no se querian casar, tresquilábanlos, y despedianlos de la compañia de los mancebos." This meant exclusion from the kin since, as soon as they were married, "they were classified, since, according to their custom, they were divided into sections each of which had a chief or captain, as well for the collection of taxes as for other reasons." These "chiefs or captains" were those of the calpulli. *Burtin*, (p. 139), also *Bustamante*, ("*Tezcoco*," Part III, cap. III, p. 215), "Cuando se casaban los empadronaban. . . . ." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 186, almost a copy of Mendieta).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

shapen, if she did not join a husband at the proper age, was also regarded as a reprobate.[81] 542 559

To these two kinds of outcasts others should be added. It is a known fact that, if any member of a calpulli failed to cultivate his garden lot for two years, or if he failed to have it cultivated under his name, then he lost every and all rights thereto. This implied expulsion from the calpulli, consequently again, *expulsion from the bond of kinship*. Any one who removed from the quarter or calpulli to which he belonged, lost his rights thereby; in other words he became an outcast.[82] 689

The lot of such people, thrust, as they were, outside of the pale of regular society, was an unenviable one. Removal to foreign tribes was not only dangerous, but even impracticable in the earlier times, when the class came into existence. Still they had to *live*. Therefore the males bargained their services to such members of the kins, as could afford to nourish them in return for manual labor.[83] No other remuneration but subsistence could be thought of. For the sake of subsistence therefore the outcast became, what the majority of authorities have called a *slave*. 565 567

Fray Juan de Torquemada writes as follows; — "The manner, in which these Indians made slaves, was very different from that of the nations of Europe and other parts of the world. It was very difficult at the outset of their conversion to understand it properly, but to make it clear (especially as the customs of Mexico, and Tetzcuco had it, since other Provinces not subject to these king-

[81] *Anonymous Conqueror* (Vol. I, Col. de Doc., p. 397): "A gente che stima meno le donne di quanti nationi sono al mondo, perchi non gli communicherebbe mai i fatti loro, anchora che conoscuse che il furio gli potesse melter conto." *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 386). See *Torquemada* (Lib. XII, cap. III. p. 306), on "mancebas" in general in regard to women who refused to marry, though living a dissolute life. Also *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XV, p. 37); *Zurita* (p. 129). If a girl abandoned her house, she might finally be disposed of as a slave, or be abandoned ("on les abandonnait").

[82] *Zurita* (p. 56): "Le propriétaire qui ne cultivait pas pendant deux années, par sa faute ou par négligence, sans juste cause, ... était averti de les cultiver; et s'il ne le faisait pas, l'année d'ensuite on les donnait à un autre." (Id. p. 54): "Si, par hazard, le membre d'un calpulli le quittait pour aller demeurer dans un autre, ou lui retirait les terres qui lui avaient été assignées. . . . . Adopted also by *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 135). Compare "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 486).

[83] *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia I, p. 441): "Los hombres necesitados y haraganes se vendian. . . ." *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 34): "Hay en todos los mercados y lugares públicos de la dicha ciudad, todos los dias, muchas personas trabajadores y maestros de todos oficios, esperando quien los alquile por sus jornales." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, pp. 564 and 565; and Cap. XVII, pp. 565 and 566). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII, p. 480).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

565 doms, had other ways to make slaves) we say: that many condi-
567 tions were lacking, to create them actual slaves. For of these slaves of this New-Spain, some had means, might own and possess them of their own, and they could not be sold again except under the conditions mentioned hereafter. The service rendered to their master was limited, not for always, nor ordinary. Some, upon marrying, became released, their relatives or brothers taking their place. There were also skilful slaves who, besides serving their masters, still kept house, with wife and children, purchasing and holding slaves themselves. The children of slaves were born free."[84]

567 The Mexican term for slave was, literally a "purchased man" ("tlacotli.") He was in fact but a "bondsman." Through a special contract, made before authorized witnesses, his services, the proceeds of his labor, *and not his person*, became pledged to another. The member of a kin had no direct ownership in him whom he employed, he could not sell him again without that employer's consent, nor could he take his life in punishment of crime. If the latter broke his contract through repeated
[685] evasion he might finally be "collared," that is, his neck was enclosed in a wooden yoke, by means of which he was fastened to a wall at night. If the man still contrived to escape, then he was turned over to worship and sacrificed; but in case he succeeded in secreting himself in the official house without being intercepted by his master or one of that master's people, then he was spared, and even liberated from his bonds.[85] In addition to the supply furnished to the class of outcasts in the manner above indicated, there were accessions to it from outside. Fugitives were of rare occurrence, since such, if from a tribe against which war was waged, were regarded as precious additions, too important to be ranged among the outcasts.[86] But we have several instances, in the ancient history of Mexico, of destructive
[731] drouths as well as of disastrous inundations, depriving the inhabi-

[84] "*Monarchia Indiana*" (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, p. 584).

[85] I have gathered these details mostly from *Torquemada* (Vol. II, pp. 584-586). Compare besides others, *Velancurt* (Vol. I, pp. 488, 494, and 495) and nearly all modern writers.

[86] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130): "Y si de la parte contraria salia alguno á descubrir y dar aviso cómo su señor ó su gente venian sobre ellos, al tal dábanle mantas y pagábanle bien." Copied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 536), and *Velancurt* (Parte II, Trat. II, cap. III, p. 294).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

tants of the valley of their annual crops. In order to escape threatened famine, fathers bartered their services and those of their children for food, to such tribes as possessed sufficient stores.[87]

If the consequence of expulsion from the bond of kinship or of voluntary abandonment of the rights as members, were, for the male, a degradation to work for others, it was altogether different for the female. The position of women was, as we have already intimated, little better than that of a costly animal, and protection was awarded them only in so far as they represented a part of their husbands' property. This the kin itself was obligated to defend and protect. The wife, however, had no other right than that. She could not complain if her lord and master increased his "family-stock" by the addition of one or more concubines, nor if he strayed about to satisfy his desires with other females. Such acts were even subservient to the kins' interest, since they led to an increase of numbers. But the women themselves who gave their persons away for such purposes could only belong to the class of outcasts; for illicit intercourse with wives and daughters of the kins was, as we shall hereafter see, severely punished. Through the formation of the class of outcasts, or at least along with it, prostitution became tolerated among the ancient Mexicans, while polygamy in the shape of concubinage was introduced as a legitimate custom.[88]

[87] Besides the famines recorded since the conquest, the older authors and sources in general notice several (at least two) previous to 1520. It is not to our purpose to discuss their dates. They are given with the usual variation and discordance. Thus for instance, the "*Codex Telleriano Remensis*" (Kingsborough, Vol. I, plate VII, and Vol. VI, p. 136) mentions one in 1496 (1 Tochtli), which is evidently incorrect, since 1 Tochtli would be 1402. The Ce-Tochtli thus mentioned, is 1454. In that year, *Durán* (Cap. XXX, p. 245) places the beginning of the great drouth which, after three years duration, so completely exhausted the Mexican stores and supplies that "wrathy chief" the elder, ("Huehue Motecuzuma") told the people "que cada uno vaya á buscar su remedio" (p. 247). In consequence of it, it is reported that many people "sold their sons and daughters to the merchants and principals (señores) of the tribes that had wherewith to give them to eat, and they gave for a baby (or boy rather, "niño") a small basket of corn (maiz) to the father or mother, obligating themselves to sustain the child as long as the famine might last, for that if afterwards the father or mother might wish to redeem it, they should be obligated to pay these aliments." This is, as usual, also stated by *Tezcucano* (Cap. XL, p. 64), though with less details. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LXXIII, p. 205) reports the same, but placing it fifty years later, under the last "wrathy chief" (Cap. CX, p. 228) in 1505, A. D. *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. I, p. 389), agrees with Durán and Tezcucano, as does *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. XII, p. 208): "Many sold themselves for food." This date is also 1451–1454. It is singular that *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XLVII, p. 136) also relates the famine under the older "wrathy chief," and his words are almost textually copied by Clavigero.

[88] The possession of more than one woman, or rather the enjoyment of more than

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

● 545 We thus witness, among the ancient Mexicans and beneath the kins composing the tribe, a lower class of society, a floating

545 one, was a mere matter of subsistence. As already remarked by *Peter Martyr* (Dec. V, cap. X, p. 223): "He further saith, that the common sort of people content themselves with one wife; but that every Prince may maintayne hariottes at his pleasure." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*, etc.," Vedia I, p. 438): "Cuatro cauas dan para tener tantas mujeres: la primera es el vicio de la carne, en que mucho se deleitan; la segunda es por tener muchos hijos; la tercera por reputacion y servicio; la cuarta es por granjéria; y esta postrera usan más que otros, los hombres de guerra, los de palacio, los holgazanes y tahares; hacénlas trabajar como esclavas, etc." The same author adds: "Aunque toman muchas mugeres, á unas tienen per légitimas, á otras por amigas, y á otras por mancebas. Amiga llaman á la que despues de casados demandabán, y manceba á la que ellos se tomaban." According to this statement, a husband could entertain three classes of women: one legitimate wife, concubines which he obtained with permission of their parents and prostitutes or mistresses. *Variotas delectat Torquemada*, however (Lib. XII, cap. III, p. 376), says: "Otra especie de mancebas havia, y se permitia, que era la que los Señores principales, ó las tomaban ellos, ó las pedian despues de ya casados, con la Señora, y muger legitima, que llamaban cihuapilli." This reduces the "stock" to two kinds, at least. *Motolinia* (Trat. II, cap. VII, pp. 134-136) mentions polygamy as a rule and describes the infinite trouble of the priests to find out the legitimate wife, assuming it to be "aquella con quien estando en su gentilidad primero habian contraido matrimonio" (p. 137). According to him the first legitimate marriage took place 14 October, 1526 (p. 134), but nevertheless for three or four years afterwards: "no se velaban, . . . sino que todos se estaban con las mujeres que querian, y habia algunos que tenian hasta doscientas mujeres, y de alli abajo cada uno tenia las que queria" (p. 135). In defence of this state of polygamy the Indians alleged "tambien las tenian por manera de granjéria, porque las hacian á todos tejer y hacer mantas y otros oficios de esta manera" (p. 125). *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLVII and XLVIII, pp. 300-306) is very explicit on the same question. He asserts that the early missionaries found: "Por otra parte se hallaba que el comun de la gente vulgar y pobre no tenian ni habian tomado sino sola una mujer . . . . . sino que los señores y principales, como poderosos, excederian los límites del uso matrimonial, tomando despues otras, las que se les antojaba" (p. 301). The final result of these troublesome disputes and investigations is expressed as follows (p. 303): "y que sabiendose cual era la primera mujer, era cierta cosa ser aquella la legitima, y viviendo aquella, otra cualquiera habia de ser manceba." The question is as to whether a daughter of any member of the kin could ever lawfully become a concubine, or whether this was only the case with female outcasts? The stories about "Handful of Reeds," who, his first wife being sterile, was subsequently married to a number of daughters of chieftains (see *Durán*, Cap. VI, pp. 48 and 49, *Torquemada*, Lib. II, cap. XIII, p. 98, *Veytia*, Cort, Parte II, Trat. I, cap. XI, p. 270, *Clavigero*, Lib. III, cap. III, p. 194) is manifestly untrue. The object of these subsequent marriages is given as in order to obtain heirs to the throne. Now it is well known that there was no "succession," but only an "election," consequently there was no such object as the one claimed. The chief certainly had concubines, but there is no evidence to show that he obtained them from the kins. Again we are treated to long descriptions of the dazzling polygamy of the chiefs of Texcuco. For instance, *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XLIII, pp. 305 and 306) relates of "Fasting wolf" "nezahualcoyotl," from "nezahualtiztli," "ayuno," etc., (*Molina*, II. 64), and "coyotl" how he had a number of concubines previous to his marriage with an Indian girl of Coatlichan. Further on he relates the well known "Uriah and Bathsheba" story (pp. 309-313), attributed to the same chief, and which has been so often recopied. His successor in office, "Fasting boy" (Nezahualpilli," compare the picture of this name in *Durán*, *Lam.* 23 and 24, Trat. Ie), is reported by him to have had 2000 concubines, "But, besides the queen, he had intercourse with forty" (Cap. LVII, p. 35 of 2d Vol.). His marriage with that only legitimate spouse is described (Cap. LXIV, p. 66, Vol. II). He is, of course, supported by *Torquemada*

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

population of "hangers-on to the tribe." This class was not very numerous; still it grew slowly and steadily. Prohibited from carrying arms, and therefore from taking any part in warfare other than that of carriers and, perhaps, runners, the heavy drudgery of work was at their charge.[89] Even the tillage of lots appears to have been frequently assigned to them, and it may be that what is commonly termed the class of "macehuales" consisted of the outcasts who improved "tlalmilpa" for the benefit of members of the kin.[90] Besides, it is distinctly implied, if not stated,

(Lib. II, cap. XLV, pp. 134-135; cap. LXII, p. 194; Lib. XIII, cap. XII, p. 436). *H. H.* 595 *Bancroft* (Vol. II. p. 96) admits two classes of concubines for married people, one of which he calls "the less legitimate wives." Among other authorities, he adduces in evidence *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. I, p. 260): "Tenia este Olintech treynta mugeres dentro de su casa, con quien el dormia, é las quales servian mas de ciento otras." The same statement is also found in *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I. p. 336) and others. (The name for the mistress ("manceba") of a *married* man is "teichtacamecauh" (*Molina*, I, p. 81), which means literally "thy secret tie," from "Tehuatl"—"thou," "ichtaca"—secretly (II, p. 32), and "mecatl"—rope or cord (II, 58). See in a further note.

The most significant statements, however, are those already reported, of Motolinia 595 and of Gomara, that the Indians explained their polygamy by the fact that *they kept* 567 *these women for their work*. In other words, they were purchased hands. This is indicated by the following authorities: *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I, p. 441), "Las malas mujeres de su cuerpo, que lo daban de balde si no las querian pagar, se vendian por esclavas por traerse bien, ó cuando ninguno las queria, por viejas ó feas ó enfermas; que nadie pide por las puertas." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVI, p. 563): "Havia tambien mugeres, que se daban á vivir sueltas, y libertadamente; y para proseguir este mal Estado, que tomaban, tenian necesidad de vestir curiosa, y galanamente, y por la necesidad, que passaban, porque no trabajaban . . . . llegaban á necesitarse mucho, y haciance Esclavas;" and the same authority adds (Cap. XVII, p. 566):—"y muchas veces los Amos se casaban, con Esclavas suias," without any closer definition however. Finally, the *Anónimo* says (p. 307): "Nelle nozze di questa patrona principale fanno alcune cirimonie, il che non si osserva nelle nozze dell' altre."

There is no evidence that a married man could increase the number of his women even with the consent of the parents, in other words, marry a girl. But if the latter had, through her own lewd conduct, become abandoned and cast off, then he could associate with her as his mistress without regard to his wife proper. Also he might purchase (or rather barter for) a female and afterwards make a concubine of her, even if she was of a foreign tribe. Prisoners of *ixtli* (females) may occasionally have [727] been spared also, but this suggestion rests on very slight evidence (compare "*Anónimo*," p. 272), and may apply only to prisoners of war purchased from other tribes (*Sahagun*, Lib. I, cap. XIX. p. 32).

[683]

[89] They were the "tamemes," carriers. The Mexican word is "tlamama," from "tlacatl"—man, and "mitla-mama"—to carry a load (*Molina*, II, p. 51). *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, "*Avis sur les Prestations personelles*," etc., p. 326. Ternaux, Recueil). *Zurita* (pp. 220, 221, and 229) "*Lettre des auditeurs Salmeron, Maldonado, Cepeda et Quiroga a l'Impératrice.*" (Mexico, 30 March, 1531, in 2d Recueil, etc., pp. 143 and 144): "Los Indianos son de tanto tiempo pertó dél fadeaux, ils y sont accoutumés . . . "

[90] This is a mere suggestion. The majority of descriptions, however, are such that the "macehual" may have been, and probably was, a member of the kin. Still, in such cases, when that member could not improve his lots himself, families of "bondsmen" may have done the work for him, and thus become included in the general picture. Quotations are superfluous, since the information is not, as yet, positive enough.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

548 Besides, it is distinctly implied, if not stated,
[549] that for actions of merit such people might be re-adopted, and thus restored to their original rights. The anonymous conqueror asserts that the performer of any valorous deed was highly rewarded and made a chieftain, "even if he was the vilest slave."[91] But without such formal re-adoption, no outcast could emerge from his inferior and unprotected condition. The overwhelming majority of Mexico's aboriginal people, however, consisted of members of the twenty kins shown to have composed the tribe. These all enjoyed equal rights; consequently all had the same duty. Both right and obligation were governed by the organization of kinship. While it is impossible for us to follow here strictly the order of enumeration of these rights and obligations, established in the admirable researches of Mr. Morgan, we still can distinctly trace all of them in ancient Mexican society, operating with more or less unimpaired vitality.

[618] *The kin claimed the right to name its members.*[92] A family name
553 was unknown to the ancient Mexicans,[93] and thus our assertion that the modern family was not yet established among them, acquires further support. Within a few days after the child's birth, its mother in presence of all the neighbors (consequently of the "calpulli" or kin) gave the child a name through the medium of the women assisting her delivery. This name, generally taken from that of the day of birth, had a superstitious bearing, and was to accompany the child during the period of its utter helplessness.[94] A second "naming" took place several

[91] "*Relatione di alcune Cose della Nuova Spagna*" (Col. de Doc., I, p. 371). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XVII, p. 566): "y Esclavos havia que regian, y mandaban la casa de su Señor, como hacen los Mayordomos."

[92] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," pp. 71 and 72).

[93] *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. V, p. 37): "Todos los Niños cuando nacian tomaban nombre del dia en que nacian." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXII, pp. 454 and 455). The family name was introduced by the Spaniards, who gave other names at the time of baptism.

[94] *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. V, p. 37). *Sahagun* (Lib. IV, cap. I, pp. 283 and 284, in general the entire fourth Book, which gives a very full idea of all the superstitions connected with birthdays; more especially Cap. XXXV and XXXVI and Lib. VI, cap. XXXVII, pp. 217-231). All the children of the quarter were invited to the festival: "En este tiempo que estas cosas se hacian, juntabanse los mosuelos de todo aquel barrio, y acabadas todas estas ceremonias, entran en la casa del y toman la comida que alli les tenian aparejada. . . . . ." The naming took place in presence of "todos los parientes y parientes del niño, viejos y viejas" (p. 218). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XIX, p. 107): "Estos nombres tomaban de los Idolos ó de las fiestas que en aquellas signos caian, y á veces de aves y animales y de otras cosas insensatas, como se les antojaba." (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXV, p. 267). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XX, p. 450: "Luego hacian convocacion de todos los Deudos, y Parientes, de los Padres, y de todos los Amigos, y

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

871 These houses of education were under the
868 special direction of experienced men, called therefore "Speakers
875 of the Youth" ("telpuchtlatoca") and "elder brothers" ("teachcauhtin,") in another capacity. They had not only to provide for the physical training of their pupils, but also for their intellectual development, as far as the state of knowledge permitted.[99] Such places of training were called also "the place where I grow" ("nezcaltiloyan"), or "the place where I learn" ("nemachtiloyan.")[100] It is not true that the youth were constrained
871 868 to a permanent, almost monastic residence in such houses; but while there they improved in common certain special plots of land, in all likelihood the so-called "temple-tracts,"[a] out of which the daily wants of worship were supplied.[101] In connection with this mode of education, we have to consider here an objection which cannot fail to be raised against our views.

565 It is frequently given out as a fact, that besides the "Houses
871 of the Youth" mentioned, there was a *special* place of education for the children of "*noblemen*" and this is adduced as a proof of

mada (Lib. IX, cap. XII, pp. 185 and 186; Lib. XIII, cap. XXVIII, XXIX and XXX) and others.

[99] "*Art of War*" (pp. 101, 119 and 120). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, pp. 134 and 135): "Los otros se criaban como en capitanias, porque en cada barrio, habia un capitan de ellos, llamado telpuchtlato, que quiere decir, guarda ó capitan de los mancebos." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 165): "y tenian un Rector, que los regia y governaba, que se llamaba Telpochtlato, que quiere decir, Guarda, ó Caudillo de los Mancebos, el qual Telpochtlato tenia gran cuidado de doctrinarlos, y enseñarles, en buenas costumbres." *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. V, p. 269): "y si era ya hombre valiente y diestro, elegianle para regir á todos los mancebos, y para castigarlos, y entonces se llamba Telpuchtlato." (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p. 301): "Tambien daban de comer á los que criaban los mancebos que se llaman telpuchtlatos, . . ." (Cap. XVII, p. 305): "en este lugar se juntaban los maestros de los mancebos que se llamaban tiachcauan, y telpuchtlatoques . . ." (Also Cap. XXXVIII, p. 331). *Velascurt* (Part II, Trat. III, cap. VI, p. 451): "y un rector que llamaban Telpochtlato, el que habia y gobierna á los mancebos." *Codex Mendoza* (Vol. I of Kingsborough plates 62 and 63).

Sahagun usually calls the "achcauhtli," "alguaziles," or executors of justice. But above we see that he calls the "tiachcauan," also "masters of the youth." Both names are corruptions of "teachcauhtlin." *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 60) calls the "Achcacauhtin, mayorales de armas y de doctrina y de ejemplo." (Cap. LVII, p. 95): "Tras ellos vinieron los que llaman Achcauhtin, señores de los varrios, y maestros de mancebos." (Cap. LXXI, p. 121): "mayorales y ministros, y los hicieron juntar como escuelas en cada un varrio que llamaban telpochcalli." (Cap. LXXXVIII, p. 134): "Los mancebos iban cada dia á los varrios al egercicio de las armas á la escuela de armas telpochcalco, adonde los enseñaban con valerosos ánimos, y las maneras de combatir." Finally *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 432) refers also to the 53d picture of the Mendoza Codex, representing a boy of fifteen years, who is turned over to an "achcauhtli, or officer," to be instructed in the art of war.

[100] *Molina* (*Vocabularia* II, pp. 66 and 73). *P. Ignacio de Paredes* ("*Doctrina Breve* . . . *acado del Catecismo Mexicano*," Reprint of 1900).

[101] *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. V, p. 269) says that, whereas they slept at home, that is, at the "house of youth," they ate with their families ("aunque comian en sus casas pro-
[a] p. 45").

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

the existence of a privileged class of nobles.[102] Besides the other evidence which we have mentioned, as against the existence of nobility in ancient Mexico, we shall state here that the place called "calmecac" which is the name given to that supposed "school for the nobles," was in reality something quite different.

Fray Bernardino Sahagun, in his description of the central medicine-lodge or great temple of the Mexican tribe, says that in the house called calmecac those who devoted themselves to "medicine," or to the priesthood were trained for that office and lived in said house along with the medicine-men themselves.[103] There were several buildings or rooms bearing that name, all within the square occupied by what is commonly termed "the great temple of Mexico," and these were the places where the medicine-men and whoever was attached to them and to their offices, actually dwelt.[104] Consequently these places were also

pias"). *Zurita* (pp. 131-133) asserts that "certain fixed days, the children of land-tillers had permission to share their father's labor." That the "temple tracts" were probably identical with those worked by the young men is made evident by *Sahagun* (Cap. V, Lib. III, p. 269; cap. VIII, p. 273). *Zurita* (p. 131): "Ils étaient obligés de travailler aux terres affectées à ces établissements." *Torquemada* (Lib. IX, cap. XII, p. 185): "Tenian sus Tierras, y Heredados para su sustento (que debian de ser de las dedicadas al uso, y gasto de los Templos) en ellas sembraban, y cogian Pan para su sustento." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, pp. 124 and 125). *Gomara* (Vedia, p. 438). The latter is very plain, connecting all the "schools" and their lands with the temples.

[102] *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 243 and 244). Nearly all the older writers call it a higher school, but I shall hereafter discuss their statements. See also Prescott ("*Mexico*," Book I, ch. III, p. 60).

[103] "*Historia general de las Cosas de Nueva España*," (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 271): "Los señores, ó principales, ó ancianos, ofrecian á sus hijos á la casa que se llamaba Calmecac, era su intencion que allí se criasen para que fuesen ministros de los idolos." Id., (Cap. IV, p. 266): "y lo ofrecian á la casa de los idolos que se llama Calmécac, para que fuese ministro de ellos, viniendo á edad perfecta." But especially (Lib. VI, cap. XXXIX, p. 285): "si le prometian á la casa Calmecac, era para que hiciese penitencia, sirviese á los dioses, viviese en limpieza, en humildad y castidad, y para que del todo se guardase de los vicios carnales."

[104] The description furnished by *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, Appendix, "Relacion de los Edificios del gran Templo de México," pp. 197 to 211) mentions seventy-eight parts or edifices, among which were the following, with the name "Calmecac:"

The 12th edifice "Tlilancalmecac," a shrine to the goddess Civocoatl and inhabited by three priests, medicine-men (p. 201).

13th edifice "Mexicocalmecac," called by him "a monastery wherein the priests dwelt who served daily in the Cu of Tlaloc" (p. 201).

24th edifice, "Vitznahuac Calmecac," inhabited by the priests of the idol Vitznaoac, (p. 202)

27th edifice, "Tetlanmancalmecac," where the priests of the temple dedicated to the goddess Chantico lived, as in a "monastery," (p. 202).

35th edifice. "Tlamatzinco Calmecac," "a monastery," inhabited by the priests of the god Tlamatzincatl, (p. 204).

54th edifice, "Yopico Calmecac," "monasterio ó oratorio," (p. 207).

61st edifice, "Tzoalmoloo-calmecac," "a monastery where dwelt priests of the god Xochiteotl," (p. 207).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

It therefore demanded the daily attendance at the official house of the tribe of a body of men sitting as "judges." The decisions of these judges had to be final even in matters of life and death. Therefore the chiefs composing the highest authority of the tribe, the members of the council or "tlatoca," were also its supreme judges. It is stated that for this daily work the twenty "speakers" were subdivided into two bodies sitting simultaneously in two different halls of the "tecpan." One of these bodies is called "court of the nobles" because it attended, not merely to tribal cases, but especially to the preparatory business of government in general, whereas the other limited its decrees to judicial questions only.[303]

officers delegated for that special purpose, and, as we shall find, probably under orders of the military commanders of the tribe.

[303] This division of the council into two bodies for the purpose of greater dispatch of judicial work is particularly affirmed by *Sahagun* (Lib VIII, cap. XIV, p. 303. Cap. XV, p. 304, and Cap. XXV, pp. 313 and 314), who, however, contradicts himself in regard to the position and rank of his "Judges." Thus (p. 303) he calls his officers of the "sala de la judicatura," "el rey, los señores, cónsules, oidores, principales nobles" as distinguished from those of the "audiencia de la causas civiles," whom he designates as "los senadores y los ancianos," thus intimating, if not asserting, that the former were superior to the latter in rank and power. The hall wherein the former met, is called "tlacxitlan," the latter "teocalli." I shall return to these terms again. He further asserts (p. 314), speaking of the former: "Estos tales eran los mayores jueces, que ellos llamaban tecutlatoques," and establishes them as a court of appeal for the lower court. Now (Cap. XXX, p. 318) he says: "juntábanse los senadores que llamaban tecutlatoques . . ." Consequently, he tacitly admits that the "senadores" who, according to him, composed the "lower" court were also the *equals* of those of the higher, and all belonged to the same class of officers. Finally, his picture of the duties of both bodies is rather obscure. He even (p. 314) might be construed so as to establish *three* courts. If we now examine the names given by him, we find that of the "lower" to be "house of chiefs," from "tecuhtli" and "calli," house. Indeed, *Molina* (II, p. 93) has "tecalli," "casa, o audiencia real." "Tlacxitlan," however, signifies (II, p. 139) "en lo baxo, o al pie de los arboles, o de cosa semejante." The proper derivation, however, is from "ni tlacxitoca" "to correct writings, or count over what has been already counted" (p. 139), which would indeed correspond to a "court of appeals." "To appeal" is "nitlacnepa;" "appeal," "tlacnepalitzli; ococecan notetlhuiliztli," *Molina* (I, p. 11). It stands properly for the act of demurring, or of returning, folding, doubling up, and it is not likely to have been used by the natives to define an appeal in our sense of the word. Father Sahagun has probably introduced the word "tlacxitlan" himself. At all events, he is responsible for the notion of a superior body of judges, to whom a lower court, sitting in the same house, referred all cases of importance, contenting itself with taking testimony and despatching unimportant cases; while at the same time he tells us that the members of *both* groups *held the same office*, and were consequently equal and had the same title. This title we have found to be that of the members of the council, consequently the two groups formed but fractions of that body, co-ordinated and assisting each other, and not a higher and a lower branch of a tribal judiciary.

Father Sahagun and contemporary authors of the Franciscan school, whose writings have just now come to light in the "*Libro de Oro*," can easily be traced as the source of most of the later pictures of Mexican judicial customs as in the present instance. Thus his highest tribunal of thirteen "senadores" reappears in *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," p. 448,

1787 was chaste and conscientious; who was audacious, who saved all, who sought his sustenance; who planned, sought, and watched for that which might alleviate, for that which he might lay hand on in the near future, and for what he might offer his children; for what might be obtained, and what he could quickly seize if sickness and misfortune came.

Thus, everywhere he watched for, considered, and sought whatsoever he might use as merchandise, whatsoever his manner of wares might be; whatsoever he might live by, by which he might increase and augment his goods and his gains.

And this one emerged, and rose to honor, if he deliberated well, and was attentive, not resentful of criticism, nor lazy. The counsel with which he was counseled and the rearing with which he was reared took effect; he seized and held fast to it. And if he was made fun of, he took no revenge; he made no reprisals. He returned nothing in kind.

[684 ●565] And if a woman were then born, it likewise befell her as hath been said and told above. If a noblewoman was an adulteress, her head was crushed between two stones so that she died. And only in misery and affliction was she given to dwell. She encountered misery and want. Nowhere on earth was her face radiant; nowhere on earth was she [of any account]; nowhere was she regarded; nowhere did she hold a husband. Thus was it stated: "Just so is her nature; so is her life; so her birthright; and so her day sign. Thus, on such [a day], was she bathed; at such a time was she born. Monstrous was her day sign; a wild beast was she; hers was the day of the wild beast, etc."

1782 821 And they venerated Four Movement as a day sign. Thus did they say, that it was the day sign of the sun. Moctezuma paid great honor to it. When it was this day, when Four Movement set in, they slew quail and offered incense before the image of the sun; they placed on it what was known as the spreading red arara feather device. And at noon captives died and were slain [as sacrifices].

1787 And for him who was then born, no [true sign] appeared. In two ways might it fall. They said that if it were a man, he might either take captives or die in war. As they said, "With this the sun is nourished." Hence everyone did penances when it was this sign. At this time all came together from all parts; none remained or did otherwise. Verily, everyone — men, women, children — cut their ears and

vmpilcatoc, in jaquich caana, in quitemoa in jeochca, yn jneuhca, in quinamjequj, in conjttiha, in contlachielia, tle iiech vmpatia, tle iiech ontlaanaz in macujl, in matlac, tlē quimonmacaz in jpalhoan, çan onmaçoaz, tlē concujtvetzia in oualla cocoliztli icnoiotl:

ic noviiampa mjztia tlanemjlia, quitemoa, in tlein quimonanauhtia, in catleuatl inanauh vmmuchioaz, in tlein vel ic onnemja, ic onmacoquetzaz, ic ontlapiujaz itlatquj icnopilouh.

Ioan ichoutl quiçaia, panvetzia, in vel monoeza, in tlacacquj, in amo quiquammati, quitemati in onotzaloca, iacalilaca, içan iiech quipachoa, içan quimacuj, quimapiçquj: auh intla ica necacaiaoalo, amo quitecuepaliaia, amo quicuepcaiotia, atle ic quilochtia.

Auh intla çioatl ipan otlacat: no iuhquj ipan muchioaia, in tlacpac omjto, omotzneuh: intla ciopilli tetlixtimaia, quatepipitzinjloia injc mjquja: auh çan icnoiotica, cococaiotica, in monemjtiaia, icnoiotl, netolinjlixtli quitztinemj, ican ixtona in tlalticpac, ican tlalticpac ca, ican motztica, ican vel oquichpia: ic mjtoaia, ca njman iuh quia, iuhquj iiolilia, iuhquj itlacatiliz, iuhquj itonal, iuhquj ipan malti, iuhcan tlacat, ātlacacemelle in itonal, ca tequanj, tequantonale. Etc.

Auh in naolin quitonaltiaia: iuh quitoaia, itonal in tonatiuh, cenca quimavixtiliaia in Motecçiçuma: yn jquac, y, moquetzaia naolin, tlacotonaia, tlenamacaia, yn ixpan ixiptla tonatiuh, quitlaliaia itoca cueçaltonamiotl: auh in nepantla tonatiuh, mjquja, mjctiloia, in mamalti:

auh in aquin ipan tlacatia, atle vel inezca, vme vitz quitoa. Yntla oquichtli ago tlamaz, anoço iaomjquiz: in iuh quitoaia, ca ica mozcaltia in tonatiuh, ic muchi tlacatl tlamacoaia. yn jquac, y il vncā, y, cenvetzi, ipanoca, aiac mocaoa, aiac itzavi, vel mochi tlacatl in oquichtli, in çioatl, im piltzintli, monacaztequia, mjçoia, mjtoaia: ic itzaltilo in tonatiuh.